

LETTERS,

WHICH PASSED BETWEEN

GENERAL DUMOURIER,

AND

PACHE,

MINISTER AT WAR TO THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,

DURING THE CAMPAIGN IN THE NETHERLANDS,

IN 1792.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH,

By ROBERT HERON.

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LETTERS

WHICH PASSED BETWEEN

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND



MINISTER AT WAR TO THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

ON THE CAMPAIGN IN THE NETHERLANDS

BY ROBERT FLEMING

LETTERS

AND REMARKS BY A MEMBER OF THE

LEGATION AT THE HAGUE

AND THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE LETTERS

Have appeared worthy of Translation into English,--for the following reasons.

They prove intrigue and dishonest ambition to have been, from the first, prevalent in the councils of the French Republicans, not less than in the Courts and Cabinets of Kings; and discover, by no ambiguous testimony, that the public servants of the present government of France, are at least as capable of speculation and fraud in office, as the most profligate Ministers of any monarchy.

They shew the French Armies to be irregular, ill-appointed, imperfectly disciplined, faithful to the republic rather than their generals, only because they are not duly formed to habits of military subordination, fit for ravage and for onset, but little qualified for regular war; Their best Generals to be skilled merely to do--what a military Commander of ability tries only when he is at a loss what to do, to fight battles. The perfection of Generalship, is, to accomplish the objects of a campaign, with as little fighting,--at as small an expence of human lives,--as possible.

The pretended fraternizations of their neighbours, and the deliverance of the subjects of kings from oppression

ADVERTISEMENT.

sion, of which the French boasted, as the godlike knight-errantry of Republicanism,—appear, from these Letters, to have been nothing better than a wicked and treacherous stratagem for swindling and robbery.

The information in these letters ought to be carefully studied by all military men, statesmen, and army-Agents. They shew that after an army is assembled, the grand difficulty is, to preserve them in health and spirits, and to provide them continually with abundant supplies of provisions, clothes, armour, and ammunition. Famine, nakedness, and despondency are far more terrible than armed enemies.

Dumourier's success at the head of the French Armies, his subsequent misfortunes, and his desertion of the Republican cause, have interested all Europe, either in kindness or abhorrence, in his fate and character. These letters written in his prosperity, and not originally intended as apologies, exhibit him more faithfully, and more entirely without disguise, than those apologetical memoirs which he has since published.—Pache was another pillar of the Revolution; His letters, and the facts concerning him, may likewise gratify curiosity.

These Letters are also among the genuine documents, upon the authority of which, the history of the French Revolution, and of the convulsions which the French Republicans have excited through Europe, may at some distant future period, be written.

R. H.

TO MY FELLOW-CITIZENS.

WHOEVER should ascribe the publication of these letters to a mean spirit of revenge, or to foolish vanity, would be greatly mistaken. Of the former of these sentiments, my mind has ever been incapable. In my present career, rather looking forward to what is to come, than regarding that which is past, I find, in a humiliating conviction of the weakness of the powers of man, a sure antidote against vanity, or even pride.

When I give an account to my fellow-citizens, of what I have done; it is my duty to state likewise to them, those difficulties which hindered me from doing more. I have opposed the enemies of the Republic with some success. But, it will appear from these letters, which are not the tenth part of those which I have written or received, in the course of the campaign, that I have been obliged to give much of my time to avocations with which my attention ought not to have been distracted.

I must confess, that, if any thing could poison to me the enjoyment of the favours which fortune has blindly lavished on me; it were the grief and indignation with which I have beheld the miseries of a victorious army,—and have seen more of them

fall by want and wretchedness, than by the swords of hostile slaves.

Whom shall we criminate, as the authors of those miseries? Alas! the two most afflictive scourges of the human race, are their own ignorance and self-love; the former, exposing us, without defence, to the stratagems of mischievous intrigue; the latter, making us blind to the cause of our errors, and withholding us from the avowal and correction of them.

Since the circumstances which reduced us to our unfortunate situation, are well known; none can be surpris'd, that I still esteem the virtues of those men of whom I have had most reason to complain. But, my esteem is not blind. I shall grant, that men are—whatever you chuse to make them. Yet, a man, after his genius and character have received a determinate bias from your hand, cannot be alike good, and that eminently, for every thing. Unhappy and dear-bought experience hath taught us, that an army may be unskilfully conducted, with geometricians for its generals,—ill-disciplined under the adjutancy of poets,—ill-supplied with provisions, when Jews are its commissaries and purveyors; although these be all persons of merit, in their respective occupations. A man who, after applying to some one particular profession, till he
has

DUMOURIER AND PACHE.

has advanced in life,—shall then be found well-qualified for any thing else, is rather to be viewed with curiosity, as an extraordinary character, than as a model to the constant recurrence of which we may trust for the preservation of the Commonwealth. Call every man to serve you in that employment in which he has gained skill by experience. If you bring him to learn in your service, that which you appoint him to do; you will assuredly be ill-served. This consideration is of the utmost importance in matters of execution, in which time is the very element of success.

The ox is a strong and sure-footed animal; but, it were folly to match him in running, with the race-horse.

May these suggestions, and what is here published, have the effect of persuading those numbers of men among us, who think themselves fit for every thing, to examine their own abilities with more attention and impartiality! May they be thus led to discern, that men of such universal talents, are at least as rarely to be met with, as persons good for nothing! Their sentiments of patriotism may be commendable. But, in our present crises, *faith without works*, is insufficient for justification.

If these *Letters* should happen to fall into the hands of our enemies; *they* may learn from them,

how to judge of the probable issue of their projects. Comparing the success of our armies, with the scanty means which those armies had, to ensure success: They will see, that undisciplined Frenchmen, led by inexperienced Generals, in want of clothes, and often in want of bread, have, under all these disadvantages, proved invincible: *They* will tremble for the safety of their own lands and houses, who lately threatened *ours*. Their eyes will open to discern that principle of human action, to which we owe our victories. They will see, that the greatest of miracles are wrought by LIBERTY.



LETTER

LETTERS,
WHICH PASSED BETWEEN
GENERAL DUMOURIER,
AND
PACHE, MINISTER AT WAR, &c.

LETTER I.

To the Minister at War.

Valenciennes; Oct. 22. First year of the existence of the Republic.

I ARRIVED at Valenciennes, on the morning of the twentieth. I have spent this day in conference with General la Bourdonnaye, whom I had appointed to meet me in this town. We have concerted our next operations. His army, reinforced with all the garrisons between Lille and Dunkirk, will amount, in numbers, to twenty or five and twenty thousand men. I am to transmit to him written instructions, directing him, how to regulate his movements, in correspondence with mine.

I have sent orders to General Valence, to march to Givet, with eighteen thousand men, which composed formerly the main army of General Dillon,

and



and were the flower of the army of Ardennes. With this force, he is to hover over Namur. Another body of ten or twelve thousand men, are to set out from Maubeuge, under the command of General d'Harville,—proceeding along the left bank of the Sambre, to join General Valence,—and then to accompany his march to Liege.

I march, with forty thousand men in the centre, and attack either Mons or Tournay. The precise direction of my attack, must be determined by the plan of defence adopted by the Austrians.

Such is the outline of my plan. It may be more or less disconcerted in the execution,—particularly in the operations directed upon Givet. Valence is so busy about Longwy, that his march to Namur, which I should have wished to attend my own, may be unavoidably retarded. Should I delay my operations, till his arrival at Givet; General Clairfait might, in this case, have time to reach Brussels, by the way of Namur, with the troops under his command in Champagne, and the embodied emigrants who have followed him in his retreat.

Although this army under Clairfait be in a very shattered condition; it would, however, afford an additional force of twenty thousand men, which I must endeavour, by the rapidity of my march, to prevent from joining the grand Imperial army. I

had



had expected to open the campaign, on the twenty-fifth. But, the troops, cavalry especially, have suffered so much on their march, that I have been obliged to allow them some days for rest, before requiring them to renew their fatigues. But, the artillery, more than any thing else, keeps back my operations. I have demanded from the minister at war, a supply of four hundred horses, to be delivered to my order, at Douay, before the twenty-sixth. Without this supply, I cannot proceed: and even this will serve only for the company of artillery, and for a few mortars. My artillery for sieges must be conveyed by horses seized in this country. But, Tournay and Mons, the two only points of its destination, are indeed not far distant. Should the enemy, after the capture or evacuation of these two places,—for, I doubt whether they will offer to defend them,—make a stand,—as it is said that they intend to do,—in the fortified camp at Brussels; I shall then find abundance of excellent horses in the Netherlands, for drawing my great artillery. Would the Austrians only take this imprudent measure; I should at once put an end to the war in the Low-Countries.

Commissary-general Mørlay gave me notice yesterday, that he had just received for the use of the army, ten thousand caps. These I shall not distribute to
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the army, till I be just about to take my departure, hoping, after what was communicated, on the twentieth, to the National Convention, by citizen Le Brun, that we shall have received by that time, an additional quantity.

One thing of the utmost consequence, without which I can execute nothing,—is *powder*. I shall want at least three millions of pounds of this article, for the campaign; although this campaign will not be of more than six weeks duration; and in the whole department of the North, I have not more than four hundred thousand pounds weight.

At Paris, I learned that there was in that capital, a quantity of powder, amounting to seven or eight hundred thousand pounds weight. Of that quantity, let me have, if possible, at least five hundred thousand pounds weight, at Douay, on the twenty-seventh. I am going to send a courier to la Fere, to be informed, whether I can have any from thence. Do your utmost, that I be not disappointed of an article of ammunition so indispensibly necessary.

In my campaign, against the Prussians, I never had at once ammunition for more than two hours of actual fighting. I was excessively sparing in the use of it. But, my part which was then defence,

is.

is now offence. I enter a country which will probably recruit my army with fifty thousand fighting men, with whom we must share our ammunition. I shall have several places to take, in the assault of which, not a little will be consumed. I *must*, therefore, be supplied with abundance. I request an instant answer, on this head, and concerning the horses for the carriage of the artillery. My want of these things is inconceivably urgent. There is nothing else to retard my operations.

I request you to represent to the National Convention, that the *Republican Battalion* have, with a gallantry the most affecting, made satisfaction for the guilt of a few individuals among them,—having delivered up the criminals to punishment; and are, by this conduct, again worthy of the public service. I shall anxiously take the first opportunity of so employing them, that they may do themselves honour; no person being more desirous than I, to make good soldiers of those citizens who devote themselves to the defence of their country. This is the only answer I will deign to give Marat. He must find his punishment in the feelings of his own heart.

The battalion of Mauconseil have acted in the same manner, and continue under the command of General Chazot.

General

General la Bourdonnaye not having under him, any confidential Lieutenant-general, of military experience, and acquainted with the country which we are to invade; I have agreed to give him, in the rank of Lieutenant-general, citizen Duval, an officer of very great merit, and the eldest Camp-Marshal in the army. At the same time, I have raised citizens Berneron and Chancel to the rank of Lieutenant-generals; who are both men of experience, both acquainted with the local circumstances of the Netherlands, both of that mature age at which the conduct of troops may be, with sufficient propriety intrusted to them. Beside that I have far from a sufficient number of General officers for the regulation of an army of eighty thousand men; *this* promotion leaves two vacancies upon the *actual staff*. Of these, one falls to citizen Thowenot, who was a supernumerary, and had been promised the first vacancy, by Le Brun, when *he* was minister. It gives him not new rank, as he already holds a colonel's commission. I intreat your approbation of these promotions; and that you will order the necessary commissions to be made out, and transmitted,—with answers at the same time, to all the other particulars of these dispatches.

Lieutenant-colonel Devaux, my aide-de-camp is the bearer of this letter. He is a man of equal ability

lity and fidelity; and you may therefore employ him in transacting the business of his mission, with the different offices, to which its several parts are to be referred.

LETTER II.

To Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Valenciennes, October 24.

THE Austrians have abandoned all their posts on the French territory. I have, this day, taken possession of the Austrian territory, by occupying with my vanguard, a part of the village of Perhuwelz, and the small town of Quievrain. On the twenty-seventh, I shall advance, with about forty thousand men to Guouarouble, near Quievrain. I send orders to General d'Harville to advance, on the 28th, with ten or twelve thousand men, from Maubeuge, against Mons, and to General la Bourdonnaye, to proceed, on the 28th, with a force exceeding twenty thousand men, from Lille, against Tournay. I expect my orders to be exactly executed. Should it prove otherwise; I must suppose, that the executive council have not pointedly explained to the *other generals*;—that, as I am re-

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sponsible

sponsible for the success of the war; it is *their* duty to obey my orders, without bringing their own views, or private passions, to thwart my plans for the operations of the campaign; I request the Executive Power to explain these things to those generals in the most clear and unequivocal terms. And as you, virtuous citizen, are just entering upon your administration, I intreat you to give the most positive orders, that I may not again find myself under the same difficulties, which had nearly defeated the success of my campaign in the Ardennes. Enough of this; what I say, is purely in the way of precaution. As we shall have, on the 28th no fewer than seventy thousand men in the enemy's territories, and out of France; it is time, to begin to think seriously of paying them in specie. This will demand three millions of livres, in the month, beginning from the twenty-eighth of October. We may reckon also, that, by the tenth of next month, General Valence will be at Namur, with twenty thousand men more; which force will require at least six hundred thousand livres more, in the month. Reckon therefore upon four millions of livres in the month, as necessary to be regularly transmitted to the army.

At all events, I hope to find you money in the Low Countries, where it is very plentiful. I even
know

know in what particular places it is to be found. If the revolution succeed in the Netherlands; I shall have offers of money, and shall make the assignats pass at par. If the Belgians shall not declare themselves freemen, and our allies; I will then treat them as enemies, seize their specie, and *pass* the assignats by force. But, for the first month, at least, you must provide the whole of the above supply,—excepting a sum which I return to you,—as I shall find means to spare it. At the army in the Ardennes, I had twelve or thirteen hundred thousand livres in specie; and of this nearly the whole remains,—as I entered not the enemy's country. Manage so, therefore, that, in the military chest of the *army of the Low Countries*, (for this name must my army now assume,—and gloriously will it support the name,) at least two millions may be deposited on the 28, or by the 30, at the latest.

Citizen d'Espagnac * will inform you of the terms

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upon

* Lately Abbe d'Espagnac. I had, before this time, no connexion with him. He came to the army to regulate the service of the waggons, for which he had contracted. His activity, and fertility in resources soon made me distinguish him. As he was now returning, for a few days, to Paris, I explained at length to him, the wants of the army. He engaged to supply within fifteen days all that I wanted. We entered into a verbal agreement,

upon which we have agreed for the supply of the wants of this army; to whom, in truth, every thing is wanting, * but courage and patriotism. I intreat you to furnish our supplies without delay, I shall then answer for the rest.

LETTER III.

To the Minister at War.

Head-quarters at Valenciennes; October 24. 1792; First year
of the existence of the Republic.

THE citizens who have contracted to furnish carriages to all the armies of the republic have, agreeably to your orders joined me. I think it fortunate, that (horses voluntarily contributed and removable at the pleasure of the owners,) have at last been perceived to be unfit for the carriage of the camp-equipage; and that the necessity has been allowed, of furnishing carriages for the constant, ordinary service of the army; which may preclude the daily trouble and
ment, to that purpose. But, unfortunately for the army, the Minister declared to him, that he himself had already made full provision of every thing: Upon which d'Espagnac thought himself acquitted of his engagements with me.

† This expression proves unequivocally, that I informed the Minister thus early, that the army was in want of every thing.

and inconvenience of raising extraordinary levies for this purpose, in the countries into which we are obliged to carry the war. Following out your intentions concerning this matter, I gave orders to the Commissary-general to ascertain the precise weight of the camp-equipage necessary for the accommodation of one regiment of infantry, and one of cavalry. By the result, of which the particulars will be communicated to you by Citizen d'Espagnac, you will perceive, that, the new improvement in the construction of the tents reduces the bulk of our baggage, at the rate of about half-a-waggon to the battalion of infantry; but that each full battalion of infantry, still requires, for the conveyance of its baggage, eight carriages with four wheels and four horses;—or nine carriages with two wheels and one horse, and eight with two horses,—if you should chuse rather to employ carriages of the latter sort: Two squadrons of cavalry require five carriages with four wheels and four horses; or four with two wheels and one horse,—and six with two horses, upon these data you will calculate the number of carriages necessary to each battalion or squadron whether drawn by one, by two, or by four horses.

Farther, you will find, that, as the battalions and squadrons under the command of General
Valence

Valence and d'Harville are to join those under my command; I shall therefore want, for the conveyance of the camp-equipage alone, twelve hundred carriages drawn each by four horses;—or thirteen hundred and fifty drawn each by one horse, and twelve hundred drawn each by two horses.

Beside these carriages for the ordinary service, of the camp. I shall want an equal number for extraordinary services,—that is, twelve hundred of four wheels and four horses each.

You will, therefore, give orders, Citizen-minister, to the Company who have contracted to furnish the army with carriages, that they hold in readiness to receive my commands.

1. Either twelve hundred carriages of four wheels and four horses; or thirteen hundred drawn by one horse, and twelve hundred drawn by two horses, for the conveyance of the camp-equipage of my army:

2. Twelve hundred carriages drawn by four horses, for other services at the camp.

The contractors, till they shall receive your orders to this effect, have agreed to hire, in the country, in the terms of their contract, whatever carriages I may want. I shall therefore reckon to their account, all carriages hired by the commissary-general, from the 15th of October, till they shall have provided.

provided two thousand four hundred carriages of four horses each.

I cannot do better, Citizen-minister, than intreat you to have due regard to the urgency of our wants. These will be relieved by your immediately concluding precise and unequivocal bargains with Contractors of the same abilities and activity, as those with whom I have treated on the business which is the subject of this letter. To the most ardent civism they join uncommon knowledge and industry. They alone have those large and liberal views which are requisite to the useful management of a part of the army-affairs which had been exceedingly neglected. With such Agents, if matters be made easy to them, I should answer for leading the French army to the extremity of the earth.

LETTER I.

From PACHE, Minister at War.

Paris; Oct. 24. First year of the Republic;—eleven at night.

I HAVE just learned, General, that Baron Senfft lately envoy from the king of Prussia to the Prince-Bishop of Liege, arrived at Liege, on the 14th of this month, in the character of minister-extraordinary.

extraordinary from his sovereign: and has had a secret conference with the Prince-bishop of Liege, in consequence of which, the chapter has been, since, several times convoked.

The purpose of the conferences of the Prussian envoy, is not publicly known. But, some well-informed persons are of opinion, that it must be, to prepare winter-quarters for eight or ten thousand Prussian troops. Besides, the conduct and conversation of Baron Senfft afford us no room to trust to any friendly dispositions of the Prussian Court towards us. For these reasons, I beg you to take the most effectual and expeditious measures in order to pre-occupy Liege, before it can be entered by the Prussians. We are impatiently expected there. Two companies of Austrian troops, and the prince's own regiment—are the only military force, to oppose us. These are the less formidable, as they are said to have received orders to fall back, at our approach.

I hope, that, having received intelligence thus early of the intention of the Prussians, you will easily be able to defeat it.

Were it possible for you, at this period in the season, to dispatch the lightest-armed troops of the garrison of Givet, instantly, for Liege; they might march along the right bank of the Meuse, preventing

ing Clairfait in this movement,—for he is at this moment on his march from Luxemburgh to Namur; and in this way, you would unquestionably be surest of taking possession of Liege, before the Prussians. It would be at the same time necessary, that you should advance, on the right, both to renew the garrison of Givet, and to attack, or at least mask Namur. By this second movement, you would confirm and compleat your possession of Liege; and that ill-fated country would still be indebted to you for its safety. But, if you judge this sudden enterprize, too uncertain to be attempted; I should think that you might accomplish the same end,—only, somewhat later,—by marching with your army in full force against Namur, and sending thence a detachment into Liege. Should the Prussians have already obtained a footing there,—which I expect not,—it will then be necessary to drive them out. At all events, it would be requisite that you should alter your first plan for the campaign, by employing more forces on the Meuse than you had before destined to act in that quarter.

You, General, must be peculiarly sensible of the necessity of repulsing the remains of the Prussian army to a distance from our frontiers; and of completing the success of your campaign against the

the Duke of Brunfwick, by rendering it impossible for them to renew the invasion.

For these reasons, General, you will not abandon your pursuit of the Prussians, till you shall be sure they pass not the winter on the hither side of the Rhine. Whatever assurances the King of Prussia may give you of his intentions to the contrary: remember that *Frenchmen are not to trust the fate of their liberty to the good faith of Kings!*

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER IV.

To the Minister at War.

Valenciennes; October 25, 1792.

READY, as I am, to enter the Netherlands,—with an army in want of every necessary,—adding a body of sixty thousand men to that vast concourse of people which the expectation of the present expedition had already assembled on this frontier; Judge whether, in these circumstances, I can possibly proceed on my enterprise, if I be continually thwarted with obstacles from your offices,—especially if contracts be made void,—and others not substituted instead of them!

Citizen

Citizen Malus, authorized by Servan, your predecessor, contracted with citizens Paulet of Douay, and Fabre of Paris, for twenty thousand bags of fine flour. The contractors were proceeding in the fulfilling of their bargain with celerity and good faith. The flour is all bought; and five thousand bags are already on the way to the army, and are expected to be immediately received here. In the mean time, the contractors, having waited on Citizen Hassenfratz *, have been positively told by him, — *that he cannot agree to the bargain made with them by Citizen Malus; but will dismiss him from his office; communicating to him, at the same time, the determination of the Minister at War.* I wish that Citizen Hassenfratz, instead of his own insolence of office, were endowed with the abilities and the patriotism of Citizen Malus. It is very astonishing that a clerk in one of the public offices of the republic should assume the haughty and decisive tone of a minister of the old government. I cannot spare either Citizen Malus, or his contract; for here are eighty thousand Frenchmen of us, going upon a most important expedition.

Citizen Hassenfratz will perhaps say, that, without this contract, the officers appointed for providing subsistence to the army, may find sufficient provisions

* First Clerk in the War-office.

provisions for the army now assembled in the department of the North. They cannot. Citizens Hasslenfratz and Desmarets themselves advised the contract. The former even assisted in negotiating it.

Whether the contract be at a high or a low price, I shall not consider. It was made under the authority of your predecessor, made, because our necessity was urgent,—a reason which still requires us to abide by it; for we are not to expect, that another shall be made; which, considering, that the price of grain had since risen, would be, most probably, more disadvantageous. But, farther, the citizens who have made this contract, make a very fair proposal, to yield up their bargain, and furnish the same twenty thousand bags of wheat, taking only two per cent. of commission. By this proposal, all difficulties are removed.

I have a concluding observation to make, which you will oblige me by communicating to Citizen Roland, minister for the Home-Department, with whom I have had several conversations upon this very head. My observation is, that every contract which brings grain to us, from abroad, is certainly advantageous, however dear the price. It prevents the monopolies of a Company who have undertaken to furnish provisions for all the armies. It leaves grain in the republic for the maintenance

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of its inhabitants. Cutting off one branch of the monopoly of grain, it relieves the common anxiety of all the departments, and hinders one department of the army from refusing to supply the wants of another.

Upon these principles, I promised Citizen Roland, that when I should enter the Netherlands, I would endeavour to dissolve all the bargains of the Contractors; requiring no farther supplies out of France; but making Belgium yield subsistence to the army within it. On these points, Citizen Roland and I agreed. And you must be sensible, that the very advantageous and necessary contract with Citizens Paulet and Fabre, accommodates itself to these same views; since, instead of consuming the grain produced in France, it supplies us with so much imported grain.

You will not be surprised, then, that, having on my side, all these reasons, oeconomic, political, and military, I insist upon the fulfilment of this contract; and send at the same time a copy of it, and of this letter—to the Committee of the National Convention for military affairs. The oconomy which deserves to be first studied in such a crisis as the present, is that of *time* and of *men*. Of this I have given proof; and I am earnest to finish what I have begun. Whenever, therefore, I shall

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be left at a loss for articles of indispensable necessity, provisions, clothes, ammunition, or money, by the sordid or the dilatory spirit of the war-offices; I will then make my complaints loudly, and will throw the blame of my miscarriage in my undertakings, upon those by whose forwardness or negligence I shall have been thwarted, and left destitute of the necessary means.

To the President of the Military Committee.

Nov. 25, 1792.

CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

I SEND you a copy of a letter written by me to Citizen Pache, minister at war. The object is, in all points of view, of the utmost importance. Nothing can be more urgent than the necessity for my entering the Low-Countries; in order to preclude them from being occupied by those troops which I fortunately drove out of the Ardennes. No expence ought to be spared, which may facilitate my enterprize. No obstacle should be raised against me, from the forms of office, or from narrow motives of œconomy. These causes have before proved ruinous to our army, and almost fatal to the Republic.

P. S. Subjoined is a copy of the Contract which the minister at war refuses to sustain.

LETTER

LETTER V.

To the Minister at War.

Oct. 25, 1792.

I THANK you, Citizen-minister, for informing me of the conference of Baron Senfft with the Bishop of Liege's minister. But, I do not suppose, that the Prussians are to halt in that bishopric: I do not believe them to be in a condition to act against an enemy during this winter: Nor can I think that the king of Prussia will sacrifice the remains of his army for the sake of supporting the bishop of Liege. However, if you have carefully read over my dispatch of the 22nd of this month, you will have seen, that it is part of my plan, to *march* the army under General Valence, to Namur, by the way of Givet. But, his march to Longwy, of which I highly approve, must retard his progress; and he writes me, that he cannot promise to reach Givet, before the 6th of next month. I suppose, therefore, that he cannot be able to act against Namur, before the 10th. His army was to consist of eighteen thousand men. But, by new orders which I sent him yesterday, he is directed to strengthen it with a reinforcement of four or five thousand men. On the 27th, I shall be at Quarouble, with about forty thousand men. General d'Harville, with

twelve thousand, marches, on the 28th to Bintche. Before the arrival of General Valence at Givet, I hope to take Mons,—General la Bourdonnaye, in the mean time, masquing and threatening Tournay, —and then to march against Ghent and Oudenarde. Then drawing all my columns together, as we approach Bruffels, which all accounts represent to me, as the central point of the defence to be made by the Austrians; I will direct General d'Harville to masque Namur: he will there join General Valence. Thus will he prevent General Clairfait from entering Brabant;—this General not having more than between fifteen and eighteen thousand men, to oppose to thirty or five and thirty thousand, to which the army under General Valence will be augmented, when joined by that under General d'Harville. Joined by General la Bourdonnaye, I shall have sixty thousand men, to attack and take Bruffels, without reckoning upon the people of the country, whom I may expect to rise in my favour.

Eight or ten thousand Prussians in the territory of Liege, will be little able to hinder me from finishing my campaign on the Meuse, and driving all the Germans out of the Low Countries. You see, from this plan, which I cannot explain more particularly, and which may be, in part, altered by circumstances,

circumstances, that I expect to have a sufficient force upon the Meuse.

After taking Mons, two days march will conduct me to Brussels. Only before this city, can I meet with opposition, to stay my career: assuredly the city of Liege, were it even not disposed for a revolution, is not in a state to make a defence. The Prussians would not await my approach, but would retire, with great celerity, into the dutchy of Cleves. You are of opinion, as you yourself tell me, that all depends upon the rapidity of my first movements. I am persuaded, therefore; that you will spare no pains or expence, to supply me with the necessary money, ammunition, provisions, clothes, and arms. You will fulfill, I hope, all the bargains I have made with Citizen d'Espagnac*; you will abide by those already made by Citizen Malus, whose abilities and public spirit I cannot too highly praise, and to whom I intreat you to send, without delay, the commission of Commissary-general in chief, which was promised him three months ago, and the duties of which he now performs. I also request you to send the commission of Paymaster-general to the army of the North,--to Citizen Martin†.

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Manifesto,

* Those mentioned in my letter of the 25th, which see.

† After this formal demand on my part, how could Pache suffer me to be accused before the Convention, of having dismissed

the

Manifesto, addressed to the People of Belgium.

Valenciennes, Oct. 26, 1792.

BRAVE Belgians! you raised, before us, the banner of liberty; but, betrayed by your fellow-citizens, in whom you confided; ensnared and deceived by the perfidious insinuations of Courts to which you applied, or which officiously intermeddled in your affairs---only to perplex and distract you, to embarrass the despot whose yoke you struggled to shake off, and at last to deliver you up to his vengeance: Victims of the cruel and insidious policy of all the Courts of Europe, but particularly of that of France,---which regarded your liberty as a blow fatal to that despotism which it desired to re-establish over us: Not only did you receive no effectual succour from the French, your neighbours, but you were by the French abandoned and betrayed, even after they had entered your provinces.

Having trampled despotism in the dust, and extinguished royalty; Having established themselves in republican freedom, triumphed over armies of despots and their slaves, and pursued the routed cowards into their own territories; The Citizens of the pay-master who had been appointed to the army? See in the Monitor, the proceedings of the sitting of the 28th of November. This was one of the principal reasons which determined them to arrest Citizens Malus and d'Espagnac.

of France are now, at length, worthy of your most ample confidence, as are the armies which they send for your deliverance.

We immediately enter your territories. But our sole object is, to assist you to plant the tree of liberty, without presuming to direct you in the choice of a new Constitution.

Establish only the sovereignty of the people; I swear, that you will never again submit to the yoke of despotism; We will then be your brothers, your friends, your protectors; We will respect your property and your laws: Discipline, the most strict and orderly, shall be maintained in the French armies.

We enter your provinces, in pursuit of the barbarians of Austria; who have ravaged our department of the North with the most dreadful atrocities. Our arms shall execute severe justice on the base soldiers of tyranny. You have also insolence, rapacity, and manifold crimes, to avenge upon their heads. Join us, that we may not be obliged to confound Belgians with Germans. If you leave them masters of your cities, these we must bombard and burn, in order to destroy the savage horde. But, join our arms; and you shall easily, and without loss, expel them for ever.

Belgians! we are brethren. Our cause is the same. You have given too many proofs of your
impatience

impatience to shake of the yoke, for us now to fear that we be forced to treat you as enemies.

LETTER VI.

To the Minister at War.

O^r. 26, 1794.

I HAVE the honour to send you, 1. The very short and simple manifesto which I have printed for distribution in the Low-Countries;

2. My dispatch, on the 24th, to General la Bourdonnaye. I must inform you,---that, in consequence of the Council's having neglected to give to the assistant-generals, precise and positive orders for the undisputing submission to my commands;--- I have already met with sharp censure from this General, and an opposition which may end in direct disobedience, if he continue to act upon his own notions, instead of following out my plans. The Council will, I hope, take immediate means to prevent the scandal, and the dangerous inconveniencies which might arise from this conduct.

3. My dispatch to General Valence, of the 26th,

4. My dispatch to General Kellerman, dated also on the 26th. From these several dispatches, you will see the whole of my plan, and its connexion

nexion with the general plan of attack, from the Mediterranean to Dunkirk. You must be sensible, Citizen Minister, that all its parts ought to correspond with one another, and he who should occasion the failure of any one branch of it would be highly blameable. If the National Council do not adopt the whole of this plan; you will instantly acquaint me with their determination. I am ready to execute whatever they shall prescribe; for I also know what it is, to obey. I shall not be able till after to-morrow, to assemble my troops in the camp of Quarouble. I am very desirous to lead them to a distance from Valenciennes, as soon as I shall have commenced my operations. Nothing can be of stronger urgency, therefore, than that you forthwith transmit to me, either absolute orders from the Council, or at least sufficient power to execute those plans which have been in view for these three years, and which circumstances have, in the course of this time extended. I send you not the letters of General la Bourdonnaye; wishing to have no contention, but with the Austrians. But, you will put a speedy end to a growing misunderstanding; which might proceed to disobedience, and force me to have recourse to very severe measures; for the welfare and glory of the republic, are to be preferred to every other consideration.

LETTER

LETTER II.

From the Minister at War.

Paris, October 28, 1792. First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

WHEN I acquainted you with what I learned of the negotiations of Baron Senfft, and the designs of Prussia, to *winter* a body of troops in the territory of Liege; I communicated, at the same time, my own ideas of the best plan for disappointing their purpose,—in an honest zeal for your glory, and that of the republic. In this, I did my duty, as minister; and I am satisfied. But, it is your part, no doubt, General, who are yourself the author of the plan of operations which you follow, who must answer for its success or miscarriage, and who will have the glory of its accomplishment,—to direct its execution. No person can be less disposed than I am, to substitute his own notions of military matters, instead of those of the General, to whose management they are intrusted.

I shall use every means in my power to supply all the wants of your army. I must, only, intreat you to direct your staff-officers and commissaries-at-war,

to

to give me notice, from time to time, of what they shall want, before the want be absolutely felt.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER VII.

To the Minister at War.

Valenciennes, October 28. First year of the Republic.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

I AM just setting out for my head-quarters at Aunin. General Valence informs me of his march to Givet. It should seem, that he is not too well provided in artillery. He must begin, however, with taking first the citadel of Namur, and then that of Huy. I send you a copy of his demand of a supply, I shall send him 4 sixteen pounders, 4 twelve pounders, and 4 swivels. I shall give orders at Douay for the convoy, which I must take from my own siege-artillery. I know not what artillery there may be at Givet and Philippeville. What will, I believe, be yet more useful, is, to send horses, with all expedition, for drawing his mortars. It might likewise be proper to send thither three or four thousand bombs,—if there be any manufacture of these. But resources
are

are to be found at Givet for both bombs and bullets. I do not suppose that twenty-four pounders can be wanted in that quarter. Besides on the roads along the Meuse, and between the Sambre and the Meuse, they would be exceedingly troublesome. The castle of Namur is without casemates, and in all respects, in a very insufficient condition. A few men only will be wanted there, unless Clairfayt shall have arrived. If he have arrived, I myself will march thither from Brussels, with fifty or sixty thousand men. Valence will check Clairfayt; and with this we shall end.

Extract of the Instructions given to General d'Harville.

Aunin, October 29.

GENERAL d'Harville, with the division of the army under his command, consisting of about twelve thousand men, and to be augmented as new troops of cavalry and infantry shall arrive,---is ordered to make a diversion on the right of my army, and to advance still as I advance, from the time of my entering the Low-countries, till I shall change this order. General d'Harville, will in his first march proceed to Bintche; the day I will name to him, by a courier, as this movement of his must be in

concert

concert with one which I shall make to support him. He will chuse a situation for a camp, between Bintche and Mons, or close by Bintche, having its *right* at Bintche and its *left* at the abbey of Bonne-Esperance, or the hamlet of Chaudieres. He will take care to intrench this camp, and all those camps in general which he shall form. He will press into his service pioneers from the adjacent country, will confine them at his park of artillery, under the custody of the armed troop, and will give them food,—and even some small pay,—to such as serve with good will, or are singularly expert,—such as carpenters, smiths, &c.

He will put these pioneers under the command of the Adjutant-general, whose business it is, to clear the ground for the marches of the army. He may expect to meet with all possible obstructions on his march from Maubeuge to Bintche; as the enemy must have spared no pains to break the roads, by floughs and pits, and every other feasible means. The march must therefore be conducted with the greatest precaution, and almost in close order of battle. The column conveying the baggage, must be in the middle between the other two columns which are to be disencumbered from every thing which might incommode them in fighting. As soon as General d'Harville shall have taken his position

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at Bintche, he will seize all the property of the Government, and declare to the people, that they alone are now the sovereigns of the country;—the French, only the organs of the natural, imprescriptible rights of man; he will declare, that the French are to treat, as friends and brethren, every Belgian aspiring to the dignity of a freeman, —and will receive among them, all who shall take arms to assist their own rights; and that the French Republic have determined never to lay down arms, till they shall have emancipated the inhabitants of the Low-countries from subserviency to any species of despotism.

To give due authenticity to this declaration, General d'Harville must previously concert the matter at the town house, with the city gates shut, and in the presence of the magistrates of the people. He will assemble the whole people in the market-place, and after reading to them this declaration, which must be printed and posted up,—will invite the people to name for themselves, new magistrates by open vote, and to order the same election in all the towns and villages of what has been called the provostry,—but will now, of course become the district of Bintche. He will inform the people that the money seized in the treasury of the late Government, is not to be appropriated to the use of the

the French, but is to be expended in equipping, arming, and clothing those citizens who shall take arms for the vindication of Belgic liberty.

Farther, General d'Harville is not to intermeddle in the government or administration of the cities, towns, and villages through which he shall pass, except in regard to matters which directly concern the security and welfare of the troops under his command.

He will keep the army under the most exact discipline, and make the general officers responsible, each for any disorderly conduct of the division under his command,---the superior officers, for their respective regiments,---the inferior, and subalterns,---for their different companies.

He will enjoin his army to shew the greatest respect to all objects of religious worship, and to all private property ! But, he will take care to destroy all the *imperial eagles* and all *public writings issued in the name of the despot* ; and to erase and efface every thing which might serve to remind the brave Belgic Nation whom we deliver, of the slavery under which they have groaned.

LETTER III.

From the Minister at War.

Paris, Oct. 29, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I WRITE to inform you, General, that, at the request of General Valence, I have ordered all the artillery represented to me, as necessary, to be conveyed from Chalons to Mezieres, and to be kept in readiness for his use, at Metz. But, as his army is a division of yours, and of that of Kellerman, I can employ no horses in this service, but those which are appropriated to the army of the North, and consequently a part of those horses which are now under your orders, and under the orders of General Kellerman. I therefore wish General Valence to consult with you, concerning the means by which he may the most readily procure the horses, he may want; and I would observe to you, that, if a new levy of horses shall appear necessary; it ought to be ordered with the utmost expedition, in order to serve for the conveyance of the above-mentioned artillery. I may confidently expect from your ardour in the service of your country, that you will give General Valence, on this occasion, all the assistance in your power: and I promise, with the consent of the administrative

ministrative bodies, to press into the service the horses of the Country, if this shall be found necessary. I intreat you to concur with all your authority, in the execution of such measures as General Valence shall resolve upon.

(Signed) PACHE, *Minister at War.*

LETTER VIII.

To the Minister at War.

Valenciennes; Oct. 29. 1792.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

THE return of my courier brought me yesterday your letter of the 27th, in which you mention a packet containing an order for me to enter Brabant. This packet I have not received. The courier who brought it, is, I fear, lost; for he set out an hour before my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-colonel Devaux, who has been with us these forty hours. I send you copies of the printed manifesto, and of my address to the army. I thank you for putting an end to the differences which had begun to arise between General la Bourdonnaye and myself. A letter which I lately sent him, had already brought him to reason. But, in consequence

of your determination, I have now neither his envy nor ill-temper to fear. Besides, he is a very worthy citizen; and I am willing to do justice to his intentions which are very honest.

I yesterday made a movement, to draw all my troops out of their cantonments. While they remained in these, I could not know their wants. Had the general muster been longer delayed, the army must have been reduced by desertion; and numbers have already deserted. It is unlucky, that the decree should have been so hastily passed, which declares our country to be no longer in danger. Many of the volunteers now demand leave to return home. The best expedient I have found for detaining those among them, who have a regard to their honour, has been that of making them leave their arms and knapsacks, on the pretence that we need them in the army. On this score, there will be some complaints and remonstrances. Such have, I believe, been offered already, among others, by the municipality of St Cloud. But, I am resolved not to listen to any thing of this sort. The Republic is to be regarded above every private consideration.

We have not a single son. As Citizen Martin has not yet been named paymaster to the army of the

the North* ; no measures have been taken to supply us with money. I asked to have two millions of specie between the 25th and the 30th. This demand you have not yet answered ; and I cannot enter the Netherlands, without ready money for the pay of the soldiers. Consider that I have already more than ten thousand men in an enemy's country.

Because no necessity can be more urgent than this,—I dispatch to you, a courier. Citizen Malus, notwithstanding all his attention and activity, is in want of every thing necessary for encampment. He is also in want of shoes : and not only am I obliged to delay marching forwards ; but I have found it necessary to send half my army back into their cantonments,—till I shall be supplied with these indispensable articles†. The army under the command of General d'Harville, and still more, that of General la Bourdonnaye, are in the same situation. Nor is la Bourdonnaye wrong in complaining, that I have taken from him the best part of his provisions ; for I have actually been forced

* Let this be compared with the reproaches which the Minister threw out against me in the Convention, on the 22nd of November.

† I hope that I shall not be thought to have done wrong in not previously informing the minister.

to divide what provisions he had, between his army and my own.

Permit me to make a short digression on the separate properties of different armies. They produce much inconvenience. To them are all the mischiefs to be attributed, which had nearly occasioned the ruin of France, under *Rochambaut*, *Luckner*, and *La Fayette*. 1. This separation of property encourages in the different commanders, a selfish spirit, directly contrary to that which ought to animate the Generals of a Republic: 2dly. It divides the administration, and makes every one to injure another. For instance, I took general measures for providing myself with arms and artillery. General la Bourdonnaye having concealed from me, what he had done, and the orders which he had given; our different orders counteracted each other,—and I had the appearance of intermeddling with his property. In future, there can nothing of this nature happen; for as his jealousy is now removed, he will have no reason for hindering things from being carried on so as mutually to favour one another.

Citizen Malus sends you, by Commissary d'Erville, a statement of the articles he wants. D'Erville will answer any interrogatories concerning the articles of this statement. I hope from the purity
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of your patriotism, and the friendship you express for me, that every thing wanted will be speedily supplied to us. Invite to any conference which you hold upon these matters, Citizen d'Espagnac*, who has singular fertility of mind for the invention of resources. You will consider that any time which we waste here, is employed by the Austrians, in preparing for our reception in the Netherlands.

I recapitulate. 1. Two millions in Specie, immediately necessary; 2. Thirty thousand pairs of shoes, wanted immediately; 3. Tents ready made, for ten thousand men; 4. Camp-equipage for forty thousand men, chiefly coverlets, of which you will send to this army, a number sufficient for five and twenty thousand men,--to Lille, for ten thousand, and for five thousand, to Maubeuge. Send all this, with post-haste; and you shall then be freed from my importunities,--who am most heartily your friend.

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* D'Espagnac, without being invited to this conference, went, in consequence of a particular letter which he received from me. The minister shewed him a very particular statement of convoys which he said, that he had prepared to be sent to the army. D'Espagnac proposed to convey them by four hundred horses, which he would send in relays, and which would serve instead of the post. The minister answered, that this was unnecessary. D'Espagnac, with D'Erville, set out, in consequence of this, for Valenciennes, on the 2nd. of November, trussing that all would be with the army, before them. What came, is well known.

LETTER IV.

From Pache to Dumourier.*

October 27.

GENERAL,

I HAVE received your letter of the 26th, with the five other papers accompanying it.

You have received from the provisory, executive council, orders to enter Brabant. They have not altered the resolution, in which they issued those orders.

Your manifesto must have a very good effect. I have given express orders to General la Bourdonnaye, signifying that you are intrusted with the supreme directions of this expedition, and that he is under your command. A copy of my letter to him, is subjoined.

You may be assured, that I shall labour with unremitting activity and diligence to supply you with every thing necessary to ensure your success in an expedition which has for its object, the security of the Republic. Of this I intreat you to rest persuaded.

(Signed)

PACHE.

P. S.

* This letter is all in Pache's hand-writing.

P. S. I have secured supplies for you from the victuallers *. I shall however take the twenty thousand bags of flower; allowing two per. Cent, of factorage. Confide in the earnestness of my endeavours to serve you.

LETTER V.

From the Minister at War.

Paris; Oct. 30. First year of the Republic.

I HAVE this instant received, General, your letter of the 28th, and I interest myself, in the warmest manner, in the success of your expedition.

General Valence's demands of artillery are fully complied with. The convoy is directed to Mezieres.

I should have sent you a statement of the artillery and ammunition now at Philippeville and Givet. But, Desalmon has not yet communicated to me such information as might enable me to satisfy you. Subjoined is a statement of what was in these two towns, on the first of August last.

I have ordered the plans of Namur and of Huy to be sought out; and shall send them to Valence, as you desire.

To-morrow,

* The wants of the army at present prove his care of the supplies.

To-morrow, I am to confer with Colonel St George, upon the most expeditious means of sending to you, the corps under his command. The other troops which you require, are to be ordered to you.

Subjoined you will find the orders of the Executive Power, with which I intreat you to comply inasmuch as they concern you. Similar orders are addressed to Generals Valence and la Bourdonnaye, serving under your command.

I also transmit to you, an order for your staff, to the execution of which I must request you to attend. I cannot supply the wants of your army with the punctuality I desire, unless I receive very particular information of these wants, as they arise.

The minister for foreign affairs, informs me, that the van-guard of General Clairfayt's army arrived at Namur, on the 28th,---and that other twelve thousand men are yet expected to arrive. Of this I shall give Valence instant notice.

(Signed) PACHE.

Extract of Instructions given to General la Bourdonnaye,---of which he is to give a copy to lieutenant-general Duval,---for Duval's information concerning that part of the plan of operations which is to be executed by the troops under his command.

GENERAL la Bourdonnaye, when he enters the Belgic territory, will post up in conspicuous places, the manifesto which I have sent him, and will publish it among the people.

Upon entering any town in Belgium, he will assemble all the inhabitants in the market-place. He will there declare to them,---not only, that they are free, and delivered from their bondage to the House of Austria; but that, [by imprescriptible natural right, they, *the people*, alone, are sovereigns of the state; subject to no external authority; unless when they have given away, by delegation, some part of their sovereign power. Consequently, he will inform them, that, in order to treat concerning their interests, with the Generals of the French Republic, they must begin with immediately chusing for themselves, by open vote, magistrates and other executive officers; and must send orders to the same effect, to all the towns and villages within their district.

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The General will, at the same time, declare to the People, that neither the French Republic, nor the Generals commanding the French armies; will at all intermeddle to regulate or influence, that form of government which the Belgic Provinces may chuse to adopt for themselves separately or collectively,---After the Belgic People shall have once begun to exercise their rights of Sovereignty.

Until such time, as the political Constitution and the form of Government shall be fixed by the Belgic nation,---the General will inform the People, that taxes and contributions will continue to be levied in the same form and proportions as at present, in the name of the Sovereign,---the people themselves; this being indispensibly necessary to support the civil and military administration; but that, instead of the public money being poured into the savage and rapacious hands of the Austrians; the people shall have ministers of their own, chosen from among themselves, to manage their public funds with prudence and œconomy,---and to apply them particularly to the formation of a national army, by the advice of the French Generals; ---who will, however, take no share in the management of these funds: but who, from their experience, and from the need which they have, to recruit the forces under their command with Belgian troops

troops,---may be safely honoured with the confidence of the Belgic nation.

The General will inform the People, that the French enter Belgium, as allies and brothers; that for this reason, they doubt not but the sovereign people of the country, will eagerly furnish their army with all necessaries, such as carriages, clothes, camp-equipage, victuals, lodgings, fuel, hospitals, and whatever else they may want,---at request of the Generals or Commissaries at War,---and for receipts given in due form, by the said commissaries, and to be afterwards accounted for between the two nations.

Should any province, city, town, or village be unfortunately so abject, as not with enthusiasm to seize that tree of liberty which the French strive to plant among their neighbours,---even after the long remonstrances and the successful efforts which the Belgians have already made, for their own emancipation: Should any part of Belgium be so brutalized as to prove insensible to the advantage and the dignity of its own sovereign power,---at the very moment when the French come with victorious arms justly employed, to offer this heavenly gift; ---To that town or village, the General will announce, that they must be treated as base slaves of the House of Austria; and that the armies of the

Republic, to avenge the cruelties exercised by the Austrian soldiers in France, will then reduce the towns to ashes, and levy heavy contributions, which will make their march to be long remembered. It is probable that no French General will be reduced to the necessity of uttering these threats,—still less to that of actually executing them. The Belgian People have too much magnanimity, and have too long fought for liberty, not to resume, with earnestness and energy, those native rights of men in society, which they have long lost through ignorance, &c. &c.

LETTER IX.

From Dumourier to the Minister at War,

November 3, 1792.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

IT is my duty to give you an account of a fact, which, the present urgency of my circumstances, renders highly important. I am very much straitened for forage to my army; and such are—the difficulty of conveyance, and our want of carriages,—that, were it not for the extraordinary care of Commissary Malus, and the astonish-

ing

ing activity of the persons whom he employs, I should often want both hay and oats. For the supply of my army commissary Malus has two principal repositories of his stores at *Arras* and *Cambray*. From these places have our supplies been hitherto obtained: but the slightest accident may cut us off from the resources which they afford. I this day learn from Malus, that the electoral assembly of the district of *Cambray* have dismissed from their employment, Citizens *Macardier* and *Chodart*, who had the chief care of the magazines at *Cambray*, and have named other persons to the office, instead of them. I know not whether this stroke of authority may not have the very unhappy effect of interrupting our supplies; and this consideration, I confess, gives me great uneasiness. That uneasiness would be still greater, if I had not hopes, that the national Convention will instantly put a stop to this mode of acting, which the electoral assembly have thought proper to pursue; but which is both inconsistent with the functions intrusted to them by the people, and dangerous to the service of the Republic. I intreat you not to lose sight of this very important object. To-morrow, I send an aide-de-camp to *Cambray*, having orders from me, to inform the electoral assembly, that such arbitrary removals from office may prove ex-

tremely prejudicial to the service of the army: and I doubt not but the assembly, whose patriotism is unquestionable, will readily yield to the very strong and convincing reasons which I shall instruct him to lay before them. I have thought it my duty to acquaint you with this affair. From your patriotism and your vigilance, I expect the prevention of such evils, for the future.

LETTER VI.

From Pache to Dumourier.

Nov. 7, 1792.

GENERAL,

I SEND you, subjoined, an extract from a letter which I have just received from General Custine. It contains some ideas concerning the farther prosecution of the war, which he desires to have communicated to you. I request your observations in return; that I may transmit them to Custine; and that the abilities of each of our Generals, may thus contribute to the success of the arms of the republic, even on that frontier which is the most remote from the scene of his operations.

I add to the packet, two resolutions of the provisional executive council, formed, one on the 29th

of October,—the other on the 3d of November, with which I request you to comply.

(Signed) PACHE.

Extract of a Letter from General Custine to the Minister at War,—which was subjoined to the above letter.

Head-quarters at Mayence; Nov. 2, 1792.

WHAT is now to be done? In my judgment, this army, on the Moselle, must march to Treves. With the reinforcements which I shall receive, I will attack Rhinfeldt. After taking it, I will proceed towards Coblenz, at the same time with the army now at Treves, and the body of forces which shall have marched to attack Traerbach, regulating our movements by those of the enemy; and our combined armies will then attack Ermantheim; for they will be ready to combine for that purpose. In the mean time, General Dumourier will check the Austrians at Namur. He must advance along the Meuse, to attack them.

Ermantheim taken,—I must then endeavour to make a powerful diversion in the Empire. To protect his hereditary dominions, and that his communication with them, may not be entirely cut off; the Emperor will then be obliged to abandon Flanders.

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The position occupied by the French army, between the Maine and Conitz, will render it possible, when these forces shall be greatly augmented, to over-run Hesse on the one side, and Franconia, on the other. Although they should not exceed forty thousand men, we may at least possess ourselves of the posts of Lidda, and the straights commanded at the entrance, by the castle of Koenigstein. This position must give the armies of the republic, such an advantage for the interception of recruits, and all other supplies passing to the Austrian army; that this army must soon be forced to abandon Flanders.

To favour an attack upon Flanders in winter, there should be a very intense frost; for, when there is an army to defend it, the conquest of the country, is not to be accomplished simply by a march. But, in the plan which I propose, General Dumourier must proceed along the Meuse. It will be the channel by which he may receive the necessaries for subsistence. He may then effect this diversion at any time; leaving sufficient troops in the camps at Valenciennes and Maubeuge. His movements must always tend to divide the army in Flanders from that portion of it which remains in Luxemburgh. He must establish for himself as soon as possible, a communication with Coblentz and Cologne.

Cologne. Let him once have Cologne behind, and Erff before him; the Austrian would be inevitably ruined, if he should obstinately strive to retain possession of the Low Countries.

He might easily make himself master of Roer by the way of Juliers, which the Elector-Palatine would certainly not give up to the Austrians, but might suffer him to take possession of it.

This, Citizen-minister, is the outline of my plan. Communicate it to General Dumourier. I hope, that, when he has considered, he will adopt it.

A faithful copy——— (Signed) PACHE.

PROVISORY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Extract from the registers of the Executive Council.

Sitting of the 3d of Nov. 1792. First year of the Republic.

THE Provisory Executive Council, considering, that certain rules are necessary to be prescribed to the Generals of the armies of the French Republic, respecting any intercourse which they may be in the way of having with the Generals or other agents of the hostile Powers;

DO HEREBY ORDAIN, That the Generals and Commanders of the French army shall hold no parleys, listen to no proposals, enter into no political negotiations with the generals or other agents
of

of the foresaid powers ; And that they shall accordingly receive express orders from the minister at war, to have no communication with the enemy, except that which may be necessary to settle the terms of the capitulation of places, cartels for the exchange of prisoners, and those other matters, purely military, which, by the laws of war, and the particular instructions received, are usually treated of, amicably, between two hostile armies.

To be faithfully extracted from the register.

(Signed) GROUVELLE, Secretary.

A true copy. PACHE, Minister at War.

Extract from the register of the proceedings of the Provisionary Executive Council.

Oct. 29, 1792. First year of the Republic.

THE Provisionary Executive Council, considering,
 1. That the national convention having decreed, that all laws not abolished, shall continue in force;
 2. That the Council were unworthy of the confidence of the nation, and of the national convention, if they should fail to maintain in its full energy, the power intrusted to them, or should suffer that gradation of authorities to be incroached upon, which constitutes an essential part of the existing government :

Considering,

Considering, farther, that several ministerial bodies, courts of judicature, generals of the army, and other military officers—have, for some time, addressed directly to the national convention, their letters, dispatches, and other communications respecting their functions; although the letter and spirit of the law require all such communications to pass through the hands of the executive power, under whose inspection all officers, civil and military, are immediately placed:

DO THEREFORE ORDAIN, That the different, ministerial and judiciary bodies, the generals of the army, and all the agents of the executive power shall be strictly enjoined to address henceforth to the executive power alone, all such letters and demands as they shall have occasion to send to the national convention, for things relating to the discharge of their offices; which shall then be transmitted to the convention by the ministers,—by each for his own department.

To be faithfully extracted from the register.

(Signed)

GROUVELLE, *Secretary.*

A true copy.

PACHÉ, *Minister at War.*

LETTER

LETTER X.

From Dumourier to the Minister at War.

Nov. 10, 1792.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

I HAVE delayed for these two days, to return an answer to your letter (N^o 42.) of the 7th of November, containing an extract of a letter from General Custine. This delay has been occasioned by my march to Brussels. Since you ask my opinion, I shall give it you explicitly.

I am very much against all offensive and foreign war,—especially such war as might lead us out of our natural boundaries; which are, on the south, the Pyrennees and the Alps,—on the east and north-east, the Rhine. I should be averse even to the invasion of the Low-countries; did I not discern, in the liberty of our neighbours, a barrier more sure, and less expensive, than any chain of fortified places. To the Belgian war we are urged, not less by considerations of interest, than by a desire to promote the progress of reason and philosophy.

All despots are decisively our enemies. But *one* only, the Head of the House of Austria, can prove a very dangerous enemy. His hatred to us is personal; He suffers an immense loss by our freedom; His private feelings are insulted and irritated, in
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the case of Antonietta; The vicinity of his dominions to our territory, leaves him no choice, but either to reduce us again to our ancient servitude, or to see himself deprived of his most valuable possessions,—the fairest flower of his crown, by losing the Netherlands.

He, accordingly, has combined against us, the conspiracy of kings. His political artifice keeps up this conspiracy, although contrary to the respective interests of the conspirators. Unless we can crush the strength of the House of Austria in this war; our liberty must be undone.

Upon these grand and undeniable facts, I, when Minister for foreign affairs, divided the House of Austria from their allies, and directed against that House, the whole battery of our politics.

Upon the same principles, have I framed the system of the war, and all my plans for the campaign. My defensive operations in the Ardennes, and the offensive measures which I now prosecute in the Low-countries—give me a right to your confidence in the plans I adopt. Should it prove otherwise, I must suppose, that others are opposed to mine, out of that restless jealousy, and that spirit of suspicion which seems to be inseparable from Republics, and which finally prove their ruin, by driving men of enlarged energetic abilities from the

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management

management of public affairs; and raising instead of them, men of that middle character and subordinate talents which inspire neither jealousy nor fear.

General Custine has proved himself to be an excellent officer. But, he confines his views to the mere mechanical operations of war. He regards neither its moral effects, nor its political consequences. His object seems to be—a successful invasion of the Low-countries; and here we are agreed. But, the following out of his plan, would carry us from our purpose. Entering far into Germany, and proceeding beyond the Rhine, we should soon not know either whither we were going, or how we might get back. We should run imprudently into a war of adventure, ruinous by the number of lives, and the enormous expence which it would cost us. It would be protracted to a great length, and would compel the powers of Germany, for their own security, to adhere to their present alliance with the House of Austria. By my plan, we are to use all our address, for the division of the other German Powers from Austria; and if possible, to make the weight of the war fall on Austria alone.

The attack of Spire, Worms, and Mentz, was very necessary; because these places on the borders of the Rhine, had been made the magazines of Austria, Prussia, and the Emigrants, to favour
their

their schemes for entering France. It is also very necessary and very consistent with my plan, to make the Rhine, the barrier of the French Empire,—to attack Treves and Cologne,—to make them ours, at least for the period of the war,—and to conclude our *philosophical* conquest of these ecclesiastical states, by reducing them to municipalities. With these views I proposed the grand plan for the campaign, so that what Kellerman did on the Moselle, as far as Coblentz, what Custine has done on the Rhine, in his progress to Mentz. My plan has not succeeded: and I ascribe the failure, not more to the errors of Kellerman, than to the fear which the Council have shewn, of raising me to a superiority over my colleagues. Kellerman has been severely punished: and he deserved his fate. But, we have lost a very good General of the second order, who might have been preserved to the republic, if he had been positively subjected to my command,—and had not the council treated me so unjustly, as to fear me.

I shall soon be in the same condition on my left wing, in which my right at that time was. A General inferior in abilities to Kellerman, embarrasses my march, strives still to divide himself from me, and is encouraged in his scheme of opposition to my measures. The man is La Bourdonnaye; whom

I have to thank for a very strange letter which I have received from one of your colleagues, but to which I can make no reply. In that letter is an extract from another letter, containing violent calumnies against me. Those calumnies have had their origin in the head of one or two members of the council. In consideration of them, I was induced to write, on the day before yesterday, to the President of the National Convention, and to send him an extract of my letter to you, of the 30th. What is strange in all this—on the same 30th, your colleague wrote that letter, to which I can make no reply.

I proceed, as I sent you notice this morning, in the conquest of the Netherlands. I shall then urge on my career to the Rhine, since I am so ordered;* although I should have thought it more prudent to guard the Meuse. I hope, that the common success of all our armies, will bring kings to repentance, and nations to reason. I hope, that we shall have a speedy peace,—unless we have the folly to carry our arms beyond the Pyrennees, the Alps, or the Rhine. Peace concluded,—I shall keep my word, and lay down my command. The

mouth

* I knew not then, that the necessities of my army were to detain me 6 days at Mons, 6 days at Brussels, 2 at Tirlemont, and 14 in the country of Liege.

mouth of calumny will then be stopped, and those who pretend to believe it, made ashamed.

Your letter contained likewise two decisions of the council;—that which respects the interviews and negotiations of the Generals, is very wisely conceived, and deserves to be exactly obeyed; for few of our heroes are skilled to wield the arms of politics.

Yet, are there exceptions: The use I made of such interviews in Champagne, was of great service to the Republic. Fortunately, this order of the Executive Power had not then been issued.

The other extract from your proceedings on the 29th of October, shall also have my obedience; for it is a law. But, it is undeniably an infringement of the liberty of the persons concerned. A general on bad terms with the minister at war, would be under a necessity of violating it, for his own security.

On this head, I shall instance in myself. When two generals betrayed the nation, and were ready to march to Paris; when the traitor la Jarre kept back my dispatches, and continued to exercise the ministerial functions, after having given in his resignation;—Had I not then acted as if I had believed, that there was no minister, and written directly to the President of the National Assembly;

the nation might not have distinguished me from the poltroons, by whom it was betrayed; the nation would not have known, that there were a general and an army ready to shed their blood in defence of the sovereign power of the People: perhaps, they would not have dared to attempt the revolution of the 10th of August.

These observations I make, as a man who has been formerly minister, as a philosopher, as yielding to none in ardent and lofty sentiments of genuine republicanism. At the same time, I declare, that none shall obey more implicitly than I; for I have full confidence in my former colleagues and yourself.

LETTER VII.

From Pache to Dumourier.

Nov. 10. 1790.

I CONGRATULATE you, General, and I rejoice, with all the French, upon the glorious victory which you have gained. Such a victory, after your long and perilous campaign against the Prussians, is signally illustrious. You speak only of those by whom you were seconded: But, the executive
council

council are ready to do ample justice to the abilities of the Commander-in-Chief, who has directed and regulated the movements of all the rest. They doubt not but you will pursue our enemies, till their flight over the Rhine avenge us for the cruelties which they exercised in the territories of the Republic,—and leave them no desire, to return, to demolish our free government.

Thank the army, in the name of the provisory executive power; and send me as soon as possible, the list you promise, of all the Citizens who have, on this occasion, merited the gratitude of their country. Do you yourself mention what particular rewards they severally deserve; and the executive council will endeavour to comply with your wishes.

I send you the decree of the National Convention respecting Baptiste. That gallant citizen shews such an attachment to you, that he appeared to deserve public praise on this account, as well as for his heroic courage.

Your account of your aides-de-camp is so favourable, that one or other of them must certainly deserve promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. I send you a lieutenant-colonel's commission, the blank in which, you may fill up with the name of any one of your aides-de-camp you chuse.

(Signed) PACHE.

(Then

(Then follows, in his own hand-writing)

I congratulate you, General, upon your success, and expect the consequences, with the most entire confidence in you.

LETTER VIII.

From Pache to Dumourier.

Nov. 11, 1792.

THE ministers for the home-department,—for the navy,—and at war,—having, for some time; undesignedly thwarted one another in making the necessary purchases on account of the diversity of the objects to which their different preparations refer;—have at last come to a proper understanding among themselves, in respect to this matter; and have formed a Committee consisting of Cousin, Bidermann, and Max-Berr, who are intrusted with the care of making all the purchases necessary to the service of the Republic.

In consequence of this union in their views, and this concert in their operations, the armies will, in future, be much more plentifully and regularly supplied with provisions; and all our purchases being made with one consent, and upon one principle;
the

the whole will be obtained upon terms much more advantageous.

It is unnecessary to observe to you, General, that since the purchase of articles of subsistence, is now to be managed solely, by one Committee; it would be inconvenient, that the measures of this Committee should be disconcerted, by orders for the purchase of provisions given by any person else.

That you may be sure, General, of a regular supply of provisions to the victorious army under your command; I send you, Citizen Pick, who is employed by the Committee for the purchases to be made in the country presently occupied by your army. I intreat you to concert measures with him for the supply of those unforeseen and urgent wants of which you cannot give me due notice, before they are felt.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER IX.

From Pache to Dumourier.

Nov. 17.

GENERAL,

DOUMER, director for provisions has just communicated to me, an extract of a letter from Payen, comptroller.

comptroller-general of provisions for the army under your command; in which Payen gives information, that Commissary Malus has lately made a large contract with H. Simon, a merchant of Dunkirk.

I can scarcely believe, that Malus can have taken it upon him, to enter into such a contract, when he well knows, that I have provided flour sufficient to serve the army under your command, for eight months; when he knows that I have already refused to ratify a large contract which he had made for flour.

As Payen gives no certain proofs of the existence of this contract; I am willing to suppose it not yet finally concluded; and this the rather, General, because, if it had been made with your knowledge, as Payen pretends, you would have instantly acquainted me with it.

I transmit to you, General, a copy of a decree of the National Convention, relating to a large and disadvantageous contract which Vincent, commissary to the army in the South, had entered into, with Benjamin, victualler for butcher-meat, to that army. You will oblige me by communicating this decree to Commissary-Comptroller Malus, that he may make it known to all the Commissaries at War who are under his direction.

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As to the great coats, coverlets, &c. I give you notice, that, on the 31st of October, there were 11,800 great coats sent off for the army under your command; on the 2nd of November, other 12,900 were sent off; in all 24,700. Additional quantities are daily sent: so that I should hope, that the army under your command, must soon be completely equipped.

Citizen Clouet, whom I have sent to you, General, and who is followed by 4,400 coverlets which I send post, has, by this time, probably taken measures for supplying your army with all that it wants.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER XI.

To Pache, Minister.

Nov. 18, 1792.

A MESSENGER from the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, has brought me the subjoined proposals, in writing. I replied verbally, that, being the General of a Republic, I was under stricter restraints, than the general who might have offered me, these proposals from a Court, or a Prince at the head of a government: that I was as sorry as the Austrian generals

nerals could be, at the devastation of the country, and the sufferings of the armies from the severities of the season; but that, whatever were my private sentiments, all that I could do, was, to send the paper containing these proposals, to the Executive Power, and in the mean time, to prosecute the operations of the campaign.

I request you, Citizen-Minister, to give the National Convention an account of my verbal answer to these proposals, which prove the Austrians to be in a very weak condition. The capture of their large magazines at Malines, completes the victory at Jemappe, of which it was a consequence. I hope, that they will speedily be deprived, by the loss of Antwerp, of every resource for the next campaign.

LETTER XII.

To Citizen Pache.

Nov. 19, 1792.

YOU desire me, virtuous Minister,—*To inform you what rewards I think proper to be distributed respectively to all those citizens who have deserved their Country's gratitude by their behaviour in the battle of Jemappe.* It is difficult to reconcile those decrees which

which lay very great restraints upon the nomination of officers, with those generous rewards which the wishes and the justice of the National Convention, and the Executive Power must dispose them to bestow on the army who have gained so well-fought and decisive a battle, as that of the 6th of November. I shall begin with stating to you, the different ranks. *First* are general officers, superior officers, and the staff-officers whom I was obliged to nominate for the organization of the army in Belgium,---although not in a number proportionate to the strength of the army. These officers have all done their duty in the most meritorious manner, in the ranks to which I had raised them before that decree which divested generals of the power of nominating to offices in their armies. They have all fought, some have been slain or wounded,---in their new rank. But, they have hitherto served upon my provisory *brevet*, without having, any of them, received a commission from the executive power. *Next* are my aides-de-camp. I had at first but four, of whom, one having left me, another has been appointed instead of him. The Executive Power, without respect to the decree, have given me five others,---and in this, have done well: for, the Commander-in-chief of an army of more than 80,000. men divided into

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several

several *corps*, cannot have all the necessary, confidential service performed by only four aides-de-camp: Although I have had nine together, yet had it not been for the gallant activity with which they have served, it would have been impossible for them to execute in due time, all the different pieces of business on which I have been obliged to dispatch them, and on which the expedition and the success of my military operations often depended.

If you be obliged, in the case of aides-de-camp, to abide by the strict rule of the Conventional decree, most of my aides-de-camp must be deprived of the recompense of their services, and degraded from their rank. In a war so extensive as that in which I am engaged, in a campaign so uncommon and laborious, it is impossible implicitly to follow ordinary rules. You will accordingly see, that several of them have the rank of lieutenant-colonel, which I should have conferred upon one only. They are, for the most part, officers of great experience. They all deserve my confidence; a quality which renders aides-de-camp very useful to the general of an army. They are all desirous to remain with me, even rather than obtain advancement. It would be a punishment to them, to be placed elsewhere. Submit this question to equity, and to the good sense of the military committee. Between

the

the committee and you, I should suppose, that some expedient may be found, to soften the rigid severity of a decree which, in time of peace, might be excellent, but affords not sufficient scope for recompensing military merit, in a city so opulent, and of such importance as this. *The third* are the the staff officers, in respect to whom the same observations are to be made, as concerning the aides-de-camp. *The fourth* are the superior officers in the army, who deserve to be raised to the rank of general officers. I must observe to you, that, exclusive of the two detachments of the army, under General la Bourdonnaye and General Valence,—I have, in an army of 80,000 men, only five lieutenant-generals, of whom one is at the head of the staff,—another, at the head of the artillery; and twelve camp-m Marshals, one of whom belongs to the artillery.

It is impossible to give any recompense by successive advancement in the different corps, without making a promotion. A promotion is even necessary to enable us to place temporary Commanders in the principal cities of Belgium. I have already brought lieutenant-generals O-Moran and Marasse, the one from Conde, the other from Douay, in order to station the former at Tournay, the latter at Antwerp. I had at first intended lieutenant-ge-

neral Maraffe for Bruffels. But, the state of general Moreton's health not being equal to his zeal in the service, and rendering himself unable to serve in the field through the winter-campaign, without there being danger of our losing a good citizen and an excellent officer, who, with his other great qualities possesses profound skill in the theory of the revolution; I have therefore given him the command of Bruffels, and instead of him, have raised to the head of the staff, Colonel Thowenot,—for whom, *before every thing else*, I request of you the rank of Camp-Marshal; for, I cannot avoid doing him the justice to say, that he is the best-informed officer in the army, and the ablest to second me.

In the army of a republic, so newly raised as ours, *length of service* is but a secondary title to promotion, and must yield to *abilities*; as our object must be, to find as speedily as possible, successors to the present generals; that the fortune of our arms may not depend upon one or two men. Besides, what I here say, is not particularly applicable to Colonel Thowenot, who has already served four and twenty years.

I have reserved a separate place for the requests made by General d'Harville. His highly praiseworthy conduct, since he has been employed to second me,—and the republican magnanimity appa-

rent.

rent in his letter to me, which I send you inclosed, —dispose me to approve his discretion in the requests he makes, and to propose them to you, as he has proposed them to me.

I send you also a memoir of Camp-Marshal Dampierre, for the veteran Jolibois. What it relates—deserves to be known, and rewarded.

As to Lieutenant-general La Noue;—his unjust detention, and the false accusation, of which, through the imprudence of General la Bourdonnaye, he has been the victim: La Bourdonnaye having been obliged to retract what he had said, and to do him justice; His acquittal unanimously pronounced by his judges; his experience, and his courage—will, altogether lead me to employ his services in the manner the most useful to the republic, as soon as he shall have joined me,—which I expect him to do within a few days. It were to be wished, that this instance might serve as a lesson against receiving lightly accusations brought against respectable officers. It is not possible, that there should still be royalists in the army; and we ought to beware of accusers, who are, for the most part, only base calumniators.

Camp-marshal Drouet died at Quesnoy, of his wounds. At Mons I have placed Camp-marshal Ferrand, whose ardour and courage are more to be depended

depended upon, than the force under his command. It is only, in justice, and to improve the courage and confidence of the excellent army which I command, that I propose to you, to give them rewards worthy of their services. You will see likewise, that the promotion which I wish, will not produce too great a number of general and superior officers, in the army; as it is from time to time augmented, and will receive an addition of a Belgian army equal to one-third of its numbers.

Before the decree was passed, I had named Camp-marshal Duval a lieutenant-general, that he might be second in command under General La Bourdonnaye, and guard against the evils likely to result from *his* inexperience. He is an officer of great merit, of the purest patriotism, and of consummate prudence. I think it highly necessary to send him his commission. I have at the same time appointed citizen Arrander, a very skilful officer, to be adjutant-general in the same army, succeeding citizen Devergue, under General la Bourdonnaye. It will likewise be proper to send him his *brevet* of adjutant-general and lieutenant-colonel. The date of his nomination was the 29th of August.

It is to be observed, that these general and superior officers have acted with me, likewise against the Prussians, and deserved, most certainly, to be rewarded by the Nation.

LETTER

LETTER X.

From the Minister at War to General Dumourier.

Paris; Nov. 14, 1793. First year of the Republic.

WITH pleasure, General, do I learn, what plans you have formed, in order to derive full advantage from your late, glorious victory.

I cannot, as yet, confer upon General Valence, the title of General of the Ardennes. It is not enough, that you resign that title, in his favour: you are Commander-in-chief of the army in Belgium; so that, of the eight offices for Head-generals, appointed by the decree of the Convention, there is not at present, one vacant. I have requested the national convention to authorise the Executive Power, to name a ninth Head-general. In case of the success of my request, I shall pay due respect to your solicitations in behalf of Valence.

I learn also, with pleasure, by a letter from General la Bourdonnaye, that he ardently seconds your exertions, and is to enter Ghent on the 11th.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

From Pache Minister at War, to Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 15, 1793. First year of the French Republic.

I SEND you, without loss of time, a list of the commissions which were given on the 8th of this month by the *Directors of Purchases* *. 1. To the Brothers Mosselmann at Brussels, to buy, in the markets of Ath, Namur, Malines, and the neighbourhood,

60,000 lbs of cheese

40,000 measures of rye

72,000 bushels of oats

2. To Perlau Carpentier at Ostend, to buy in the markets of Alost, Ghent, Oudenarde, and that

60,000 lbs of cheese

40,000 measures of rye

72,000 bushels of oats.

I have made this communication to you, that it may be of use to you, in regulating your march; and to satisfy you, at the same time, that your army shall not be left destitute of necessary provisions. I must intreat you to keep these purchases

secret;

* Of the nature of these orders, some idea may be obtained from the account which General Miranda has drawn up, of the 14th of the present month; by which it appears, that the Directors are now without magazines, money, or active managers.

secret; lest, if the intention be publicly known, the prices may be raised.

(Signed) PACHE, Minister at War.

P. S. I beg your assistance and protection to the brothers Mosselmann, and to Perlau Carpentier.

LETTER XII.

From the Minister at War, to Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 15, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I AM anxiously desirous, that the troops should receive with the utmost expedition sufficient supplies of every article of clothing and necessary camp-equipage; that our brave brothers at arms, who maintain, with such distinction, the glory of the French name, may remain exposed for as short time as possible, to the severities of the present season. It is therefore necessary, that I be always well-informed of their posture; and of the particular situations in which they are employed.

I accordingly request you, to inform me, every eight days, of the posture, and the different situations of all the troops under your command; carefully mentioning the names and arms of the several corps; that, as I provide for their necessities, I
may

may send directly to each different corp, all that it wants; without directing, by mistake to one, what is intended for the use of another; and consequently supplying some corps with twice or thrice what they need; an error the more inconvenient, because it wastes the means for the supply of the wants of others.

(Signed) PACHE, Minister at War.

LETTER XIII.

From Pache, Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 16. First year of the Republic.

I BEGIN, General, with congratulating you on your success. We all take an interest in it; none, more than I.

I thank you for the frankness with which you write to me, concerning men and measures. I think, with you, that Austria is the grand enemy we have to crush. And, I am not of opinion, that we ought to weaken our force, and raise new enemies against ourselves, by urging our invasions beyond our natural boundaries.

I have not observed in the Council, any prevalence of that jealousy by which you believe yourself

self injured. La Bourdonnaye was subjected to your authority, without a moment's hesitation. Kellermann has never been brought into question, since I have been a member of the Council. I hope, that the former will faithfully do his duty. Since his subjection to you, was positively determined, he appears to us, to have punctually obeyed your orders.

The resolution of the 29th of October, General, certainly lays no hardship upon the Commanders of the armies, when it enjoins, that their ordinary dispatches be addressed to the Minister only. A General is still at liberty to address directly to the Convention, his complaints against any of the Ministers, or such demands as respect himself personally.

Continue, General, to prosecute your success; confide in me; and acquaint me with every means by which I may co-operate with you for the safety of the republic: by all which I shall consider myself to be singularly obliged. (Signed) PACHE.

LETTER XIV.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 16, 1792. First year of the Republic.

YOU have kept your word, General, and entered Bruffels before the 15th. I have communicated
your

your letter to the National Convention, who rejoice in your success. The Belgians will owe their liberty to your valour and abilities. Receive, General, my personal congratulation.

(Signed) **PACHE.**

P. S. I subjoin a note which I have received, and think it my duty to transmit to you.

LETTER XIII.

From General Dumourier, to Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Nov. 29.

I AM sorry to find, Citizen-Minister, that you disapprove of the contract, entered into, on the 8th instant by Commissary-general Malus with citizen Simon, merchant at Dunkirk, for provisions to the army in Belgium. By this it should seem that the necessities of the army have been represented to you as less considerable than they actually are,—your means of supply, on the other hand, as larger and more sure, than we know them to be. I must undeceive you. I was then at Mons; my army

my had joined that of General d'Harville; and I had also ordered the armies of Generals La Bourdonnaye, and Valence, to move,—that we might enter Belgium in three different places at once. Our march was to be rapid; the only means of ensuring that success which we have had, was, by securing provisions for the army,—so that, take what measures I should,—I might in all events, be sure of sustenance to my troops. I had then no supplies from you; and my repeated demands had been answered by no convoys of provisions. I know not how to make war, without giving the soldier wherewithall to live. I think it the most sacred of my duties, to take due care of the subsistence of those brave fellows, who, under my command, devote themselves to the defence of liberty. In such circumstances, I had rather take upon myself a piece of service highly important to the public, than tarnish its glory, and prostrate its successes, through the ill will of a clerk, or the unskilfulness of a purveyor.

I know your loyalty and patriotism. I know that your abilities and activity deserve the confidence of the Nation. But I know also that the most upright and patriotic minister may be imposed upon, by intriguing or corrupted subalterns. When you reflect, that, at the moment when the fate of

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Belgium

Belgium was to be determined, our magazines were empty, we had no provisions, our resources were distant and uncertain, and consequently the march of the army impossible; You will undoubtedly excuse me for concluding on terms advantageous to the republic, a contract which ensured the success of the campaign, and without which I should have had neither provisions nor forage.

We must likewise obviate, for the future, the inconvenience under which I was laid in respect to these matters, by the former order of things. I desire to be no longer liable to suffer by want of provisions and forage, whenever an evil minded clerk may give you an unfaithful report. I wish to spare you the injustice of reprimanding me, for doing only what is necessary and advantageous.

When I formed the general plan of the campaign, now in its accomplishment, I calculated my resources for its execution; and when I undertook to execute it, I naturally reckoned upon no withholding of the necessary supplies for the whole detail of my operations. Of the truth and reasonableness of this, the executive council were so sensible, that they subjected to my command, all the armies employed to concur in the execution of my plan,—even those which had at their head, other Generals, of the same rank in the army, as myself.

self. But, this would have been, to do nothing, but only to amuse me with illusory means of prosecuting the campaign, if the provision of subsistence had not been put as much under my direction as the operations of the army; and if jealousy or ill-will had still left it in their power, to stop my march, and frustrate my designs. The war in Belgium is my work. I am accountable to the nation for the success of their arms. But, it would be unjust to make me responsible, without putting the natural means of success in my hands,

I therefore formally demand from you;

1. To authorize me, to negotiate, by myself, through the operation of Commissary-general Malus, all contracts for provisions of whatever sort, necessary for the use of the armies presently employed, or which shall be hereafter employed upon the expedition into Belgium.

2. To authorize me also to contract such bargains as may be requisite, and most advantageous for obtaining those supplies of ready money which the pay and expences of the army demand.

3. To ratify, accordingly, the contract negotiated on the 8th of the current month, by Commissary-general Malus, with Citizen Simon, after you shall have examined its conditions.

H. 2.

4. And

4. And, having granted me these powers,—to give orders to the agents employed in Belgium, to cease from purchasing grain or forage,—and to the National Treasury, to send no more money to the military chests of the army in Belgium.

Beside the above general reasons, given in favour of this plan; I have other things of very great weight, to submit to your consideration.

1. Grain and forage cannot be provided in abundance and on terms sufficiently advantageous, in Belgium, unless by persons belonging to the Country, who know all its resources, and can act, without raising the price of provisions, because they can employ more agents at once, and those, men better known.

2. I employ in this service, men whose credit, activity, and patriotism are well-known to me, as well as their ability for the business in question. Being accountable to me alone for the provision of sufficient supplies to the army, they will be more fully interested in the due performance of a service, on which the success of my measures must depend.

3. By this means, I provide, through one central administration, supplies of all sorts. The provision of one thing will favour the provision of another. And the readiness with which all will be supplied, will make all things doubly useful.

4. The

4. The agents whom I employ, reckoning among them, the patriots of Brabant, afford another reason for the confidence which I require; for, they have two countries to serve.

5. I find here another expedient for connecting the interests of the Belgians with those of France, and the unspeakable advantage of employing the money of Brabant for the pay, and the expences of our army; by which the money still remaining in France will be spared, and the price of it, no farther raised.

6. I secure, without farther fears of opposition or delay, all things necessary for all divisions of the army, and direct the management of the supplies, at my pleasure.

You will undoubtedly discern, Citizen-minister, that this regulation of things,—which is, in truth, comprehended in the general powers committed to me by the Executive Power,—is, in all respects, infinitely preferable, at least for the armies in Belgium, to any arrangements that can be made by the new Company for Purchases. From your patriotism and zeal for the success of the arms of the Republic, I expect a ready acceptance of this plan, rendered necessary by the situation of affairs. I cannot express to you, to what a degree, want, and the perplexities arising from it, have distressed the army, ever since

the commencement of the campaign,—have retarded my march,—and obstructed our success. I am often obliged to halt at the very instant when circumstances seem to require a quicker march, because I have not, before me, means for the subsistence of the army. I dare confidently assert, that, if I had, before now, had the advantages of the plan which I propose, the enemy had been, by this time, on the other side of the Rhine; and there had been much blood and treasure spared.

Besides, I must declare to you, that it is impossible for me, to undertake any thing of importance, while my mind is kept in anxiety about provisions, forage, and money; and that, however positive the assurances in the different letters by which you inform me of approaching supplies; I am still so ill served, and your orders so ill executed, that, had it not been for the Contract made by Commissary Malus on the 8th of this month, and for the loans obtained from the abbies, or from private persons; I should now have been absolutely without flour, forage, or money. This, no doubt, is neither your intention, nor that of the executive council. But, as intention cannot repair the misfortunes of a situation so distressful, if prolonged, I must insist, that you adopt my plan, and persuade the executive Council to adopt it,—and without the loss of

a moment's time, send me the necessary orders for its execution.

LETTER XV.

From the Minister at War to Dumourier General of the army employed in the expedition into Belgium.

PARIS, November, 1792.*

I AM informed, General, by a letter dated on the 16th. of this month, that the magistrates of the city of Ghent, in obedience to orders of the French Generals, have, by proclamation, commanded the inhabitants of the town and country under their jurisdiction, to furnish two hundred thousand bags of corn, for the subsistence of the army, and to be sent into France.

I cannot believe that the General of a French army, that Dumourier would give such orders †, which are more in the spirit of a conqueror than of the leader of a Delivering Army. He well knows that he has not subdued the people, in whose territories he now is, but delivered them from oppression

* This letter is without date.

† After my proclamation, how could the minister fail to know, that La Bourdonnaye, not I, was the author of the order in question?

pression. He knows that the republic has declared war against their oppressors ; and that although it may allow its generals to raise contributions from foreign cities,—these are only contributions of which the weight can be made to fall upon the enemies of the People.

You, general, have not issued this arbitrary and vexatious order, contrary alike to the laws and the interests of the republic. I write to you at present therefore, not to request you to revoke it, but to desire that you would prevent the publication of the proclamation which the magistrates of Ghent is now about to emit, and which, if permitted, would be equally dishonourable to us, and alarming to the inhabitants of Belgium.

In my letter of the 11th. of this month, I informed you of the establishment of a Directory (or *Board of Directors*) for the purchase of all articles of subsistence wanted for the service of the republic. I, at the same time, sent to you, Simon Pick, one of their agents, who will receive your orders in all things respecting the supply of provisions to your army. *Perlau* at Ostend, and *Messelman* at Brussels, have been commissioned to make considerable purchases. With such precautions, nothing can be left wanting to the brave soldiers under your command. The only thing
that

that can possibly occasion a want of provisions at your army, would be the proclamation of the magistrates of Ghent. Fair trade only can supply your necessities; Constraint has the effect of destroying confidence.

Be so good, General, as to make the magistrates of the city of Ghent, acquainted with the Agents of the Director of the Purchasers; that these may not be thwarted in their transactions, but may, on the contrary, obtain all the protection which they need.

The Directors have represented to me, that permission to export grain from Belgium,—to Holland especially,—might prove dangerous to the interests of the State. They expected, that the Executive Council would desire you to renew the prohibition of the exportation of grain from these countries. But, an act so unfriendly to freedom, cannot proceed from the Executive Council. They now hope that you may deal with the magistrates, so as to persuade them not to remove a prohibition which is still in force. However advantageous this prohibition might prove to the French Nation; the means proposed are unworthy of the French. I therefore desire you to make no opposition to the
imprescriptible

imprescriptible right of the Belgian People to execute their own will.

PACHE, *Minister at War.*

P. S. In our future letters, you may perhaps find it convenient to confine yourself to political communications, without saying any thing of matters of trade.

LETTER XVI.

From Pache, Minister, to Dumourier.

Paris, November, 21, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

I HAVE communicated to the National Convention the proposal from the Duke of Saxe-Teschen. The Convention will, in their wisdom, decide upon it. But, the provisional Executive Council, approved your verbal reply, which is conformable to the decree of the 24th. of October which I formerly sent you.

To this letter I subjoin another decree of the council, dated on the 16th. of November, and enjoining you to pursue the enemy even into the Dutch territories,—should they retire thither.

The

The account of the provisions found in Malines, was heard in the Convention with the liveliest applauses at almost every article.

I send you a copy of a decree of the Convention, relative to the guns found in Malines. I must request you to enable me to give as speedily as possible the notification required from me.

You have required an order for the departure of the twenty-second battalion of national volunteers. They will reach Conde, on the 22d. of this month. I give 19 other battalions, orders to march to Douay Valenciennes, agreeable to your desire. You shall receive notice of the day on which they set out, and that on which they are to arrive at the place of their destination.

Extract from the Records of the Provisionary Executive Council.

Nov. 16, 1792; First year of the Republic.

THE provisional Executive Council, considering the present state of the war, particularly in Belgium, and that no period of relaxation ought to be left to the enemies of the republic; but every exertion employed to vanquish and destroy their armies before these can be reinforced to renew the invasion

sion of France, or even of those countries into which the French armies have introduced liberty:

DO THEREFORE ORDAIN, that, in pursuance of their resolution on the 24th of October last, orders shall be given to the Commander-in-chief of the expedition into Belgium, to continue his pursuit of the enemies even into the Dutch territories, in case they shall retire thither.

Faithfully extracted from the register:

(Signed) GROUVELLE, Secretary to the Council.

A true copy. PACHE, Minister at War.

LETTER XVII.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 22.—First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

THE minister for Foreign Affairs, has communicated to the Council, your letter to him, of the 18th of this month, concerning La Bourdonnaye. The Council have determined, that this general shall return into the Department of the North. I have given him orders to this purpose. You will therefore nominate General Duval to the command of *his* army.

Laft

Last night, I received your letter of the 20th, upon the measures of administration which appear to you, necessary to the success of our affairs in Belgium. I transmit it this morning, to the Convention, with Commissary Malus's letter concerning the loan of an hundred thousand crowns*. The decision of the Convention, I shall, without delay, communicate to you.

I transmit likewise to the national convention, your letter, in which you explain the necessity of augmenting the number of the general officers in your army. I had before presented to them a memoir on the same subject. Your letter will, I hope, serve to hasten their determination on this head.

(Signed) PACHE.

I LETTER

* At my entrance into Brussels, there were not in the treasure chest of the army, more than 20,000 livres. Citizen d'Espagnac had an order on it for an 100,000 crowns in specie. I employed d'Espagnac to find the money. I was fortunate enough to prevail upon Messrs Lys of Malmesbury, to advance me to the value of 300,000 Livres-assignats, in specie. But, they requiring Messrs d'Espagnac and Malus to draw a bill of exchange on the National treasury for this sum: Malus had, by my orders, written, giving an account of this transaction.

LETTER XVIII.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 23, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

I WROTE you yesterday, that I had submitted your letter of the 20th, to the National Convention. I send a copy of my letter to the President, accompanying yours. In it you will find an account of particulars, which may make you easy as to the subsistence of your army.

I shall say nothing more concerning your demands, to grant which, exceeded the powers intrusted to me. The decision of the Convention, expressed in the decree of which I send you a copy by Citizen Ronfin, directs me to use other means for supplying the wants of the army under your command. I have communicated your observations to the Committee for purchases, and to the National Treasury.

You may depend, General, on my vigilance in order to obtain correct information, and to obviate whatever might prove injurious to the affairs of the army.

I have

I have also communicated to the Convention, your demands in favour of those citizens who have distinguished themselves under your command. I have already solicited an addition to the number of the general officers and adjutants-general. The augmentation of the armed force renders this absolutely necessary; and I eagerly take all occasions to induce the Convention to come to a determination concerning this important affair. You gave me one opportunity, of which I neglected not to avail myself.

I wait with impatience for the decree which is to empower me to recognize the titles of your brothers in arms.

(Signed) PACHE.

From the Minister at War, to the President of the National Convention.

Paris, Nov. 22, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

CITIZEN-PRESIDENT,

I HAVE received a letter from General Dumourier, dated on the 20th of this month, in which, after complaining of inconveniencies which he has suffered, by receiving supplies of provisions so irregularly, he requests me,

1. To

1. To authorize him solely, by the ministration of Commissary-general Malus, to conclude all contracts necessary to supply provisions, to the armies which now are, or which may be employed upon the expedition into Belgium ;

2. To authorize him also to negotiate such transactions as may appear the most advantageous for procuring the ready money wanted for the pay and expences of the army ;

3. In consequence of these concessions, to ratify the contract entered into, on the 8th of this month, by Commissary-general Malus, with Citizen Simon, after examining its terms :

4. To give orders to the Agents employed in Belgium, immediately to cease from the purchase of grain or forage,—and to the National Treasury, to issue no more money for the use of the armies in Belgium.

I subjoin, for the consideration of the National Convention,

1. A copy of General Dumourier's letter ;

2. A copy of a letter from Commissary-general Malus, concerning a loan of 300,000 livres, negotiated by him jointly with Citizen d'Espagnac, by a draught upon the national treasury, of which he requires the payment to be ordered ;

3. A

3. A copy of the commission given by General Dumourier, as empowered by the National Convention,—to Citizens Malus and d'Espagnac, to draw upon the commissaries of the National Treasury for the sum of 300,000 livres, payable to the order of Citizen Lys of Brussels, who will advance so much ready money to the account of the French army:

4. A statement exhibiting the condition of the military magazines in the departments of the North, the Pas-de-Calais, the Ardennes, the Aisne and the Somme, on the 8th or 10th of this month, by which it appears that they contain 166,000 quintals of cheese, rye, meal, and flour, a quantity sufficient for the subsistence of an army of 80,000 men for six months and eight days,—together with 79 thousand weight of hay, 160 thousand weight of straw, and 54,000 bags of oats:

5. A copy of a letter from Citizen Bidermann, director of the Committee for Purchases, dated this day, relative to the purchases which have been made in Brabant, amounting to 100,000 bags of cheese and barley, 40,000 bags of oats, 500,000 weight of hay, 500,000 weight of straw,—a quantity sufficient for the support of an army of 80,000 men during nine months:

6. A copy of the declaration of citizen Pick, commissary for Purchases in Belgium, concerning the prices of the hay, straw and oats, furnished upon the contract of Henry Simon,—compared with the real value of these articles.

I think it necessary, that the National Convention hear these papers read.

A determination conferring on Generals, such functions as those required by General Dumourier, exceeds the powers intrusted to me; and I am therefore obliged to submit it to the consideration of the National Convention*.

A true copy. PACHE, Minister at War.

LETTER XIV.

To Citizen Pache.

Tirlemont, Nov. 22, 1792.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

I YESTERDAY advanced to Tirlemont, with a van-guard of four or five thousand men. I found the

* This letter is very artfully drawn up; intermingling matters on which the decision of the Convention was really necessary, with others which were within both the powers and duties of the minister. To be persuaded to sign such a letter, is one of the tricks which a minister of little experience is liable to have played upon him by intriguing subalterns.

The provisions for nine months had no existence, except in this letter.

the enemy's main army encamped behind the town, —with a van-guard of three or four thousand men, on the heights Cumpty, opposite to Beantersem. I harraßed that van-guard with a constant discharge of artillery, as I advanced. They were reinforced by a body of five thousand men, but attempted nothing against us. This morning all were gone by day-break; and I soon after entered Tirlemont, with the loss of only four men. Our cannonading, and the desertion that followed, cost the enemy 400 men.

I shall be obliged to remain at Tirlemont, for this day and to-morrow. Next day, I march to Saint Troud. On the 25th, shall detach General d'Harville against Huy, to inclose General Beau-lieu between two fires; as he seems to separate himself from the main army, and to direct his movements towards Huy or Namur. Meanwhile, General Valence believes, that General Hohenlohe, upon news of these events, is now on his march from Luxembourg to Siney. It should seem that these Imperial Generals intend a junction of their forces at Chinay or Simay,—and thence to march to the relief of Namur.

On the 26th General d'Harville will, in case of need, be ready to join General Valence,—only leaving a small garrison at Huy; and then these

two united corps will make up 25 thousand men; a number sufficient to ensure the capture of the castle of Namur, and the defence of the Meuse.

For myself,—I will still follow Clairfayt, who seems to intend retiring through Liege, into Limbourg, with an intention, as I suppose, to attempt the recovery of Luxembourg. As to the court of the Archduke, which retired at first to Ruremonde, I imagine that the rapidity of my march must make them proceed to Aix-la-Chapelle; whence they may retire to Cologne.

If I had on my left, any other General than La Bourdonnaye, of whom I will not cease to complain, till he be removed,—he would have had so much good sense, as not to employ more than 6000 men for the siege of Antwerp, which requires no more as the river is shut up by the squadron at Dunkirk; and with ten thousand men, would have proceeded expeditiously against Hasselt and Mafeyk. This body might then have threatened Ruremonde on the one side, and Liege on the other: And I might have led my army to Huy, and sent that of d'Harville straight to Namur. Instead of this, it is possible, if Valence's news be true, that the junction of Beaulieu and Hohenlohe may be effected in time, to save the castle of Namur; and I may

may be forced to continue a disagreeable and difficult campaign upon the Meuse.

I hope to extricate myself out of these embarrassments. But, I declare to you, citizen-minister, that if I have not, within four days, an answer to my complaints against La Bourdonnaye; I will suspend him, and appoint a successor in his stead who may better observe my directions, and not counteract my plans. I cannot suffer him longer to endanger the glory and safety of the republic. It is time to end with advantage a campaign so gloriously begun.

LETTER XV.

To Citizen Pache Minister at War.

Tirlemont, Nov. 23, 1792. First year of the Republic.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

IF your letter had been dated, I should have known, whether you had received, at the time when it was written, the bitter complaints against General La Bourdonnaye, expressed in my letters of the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 21st, to Citizen Le Brun, and in my letter of this day which he cannot have yet received; all supported by documents proving the absurd tyranny exercised upon a country

try with which we are in amity, by this general who palsies all my military operations.

No, Citizen-minister, never will Dumourier be so dazzled with success, as to exercise the tyranny of a conqueror. He abhors the name. I have given no orders at Ghent or in any other part of Austrian Flanders. My proclamation which gives hope and confidence to that part of the country through which I lead the army under my own immediate command, is entirely unknown in that part through which General La Bourdonnaye passes; while his tales of triumph fill all the gazettes, and receive the periodical applauses of the Convention; circumstances not a little amusing to the army under my command, which does all, and says little, because I do not often write.

The General has acted precisely as a Conqueror. The public revenues are received *for the benefit of the French Nation*. His agents threaten military execution in the towns, as did the Prussians in Champagne. I insist that he be recalled into the department of the North, where, although he may injure me personally, he cannot hurt the interests of the republic.

I have written to Minister le Brun, that I required for the sake of the republic, that he should be recalled; that if he were not recalled within a few

few days, I would name another to succeed, and would suspend him; this I will positively do, whatever be the consequence; he whom I intend to succeed him, is the virtuous Miranda, whom you all love. To enable you to judge of the intentions and conduct of La Bourdonnaye, I send a copy of some letters which have been received from him by Camp-marshal Eustace, commanding a corps of my army,—whom I directed to hold a correspondence with La Bourdonnaye.

Fortunately, I can contrive to do without others. After the behaviour of this General, I have so regulated my plans, as to reckon those 20,000 men, a mere cypher, whom he renders absolutely useless to me.

I intreat you, Citizen-Minister, to answer me, courier for courier, and to determine between La Bourdonnaye and me. Things cannot remain above four days in this state. If the Council determine in his favour, I will only conduct my army to Liege, and after driving the Austrians wholly out of the Netherlands, send my letter of resignation to the National Assembly. I will at the same time explain my reasons for so doing; the strongest of which is, that I should think myself highly culpable in suffering the success I owe to the valour of my army, to be disgraced by despotism and bad policy.

policy. Without any thing of peevish passion, but with all the firmness and spirit, which are known to be the predominant qualities in my character,—do I write you this pointed letter. Nothing in the world shall induce me to recede from what I have here written.

LETTER XVI.

To Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Tilemont, Nov. 16, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I RETURN an immediate answer, Citizen-minister, to the letter in your own hand-writing, in which you inform me, that Camp-marshal Thowenot is nominated to the command in the expedition against the counter revolutionists in the colonies. I begin with declaring to you, that I think him highly qualified to satisfy the expectations, and justify the confidence of the Executive Power, and of the Nation. But, I at the same time declare to you, that my talents are not universal, and that for the arrangement and the measuring out of our camps, the service of General Thowenot is indispensibly necessary to me; that the army of the republic has in it so few good officers, that it cannot possibly want his services; that if the rapid invasion

of

of Belgium may in part perhaps have owed its success to my activity, yet it could hardly have succeeded, had not the talents of General Thowenot been also employed in it; that if I should fall ill, his service might be yet more indispensibly necessary to the General succeeding me; that the easier the success of our invasion, so much the more difficulty shall we find, in the ensuing Spring, to maintain a war of defence and artifice, in an open country which will be attacked upon all sides; that the talents of General Thowenot will be then more necessary than ever; that the interests of a conteminous country, and of a war which may once again threaten our capital, should we be checked in our present career, is much more important than the war in the colonies, in which General Thowenot's place may be much more easily supplied, than in this army.

I have several general officers, to propose to you. I shall name two Camp-marsbals, who are well qualified by their civism and their military talents, for the chief command in this expedition over sea. The one is General Ishler, formerly Colonel of the regiment of Boillon: The other, General Dampierre, formerly Colonel of the fifth regiment of dragoons.

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Should

Should the Council persist in their choice of General Thowenot, and he accept a command which removes him from the proper sphere of his usefulness, and of his personal welfare, which must ever depend upon that of the republic; Yet do I enter my protest beforehand, against the breaking of the staff-establishment of my army; for I have, in truth, no person to succeed General Thowenot.

I have equally strong observations to make against the choice of his brother Lieutenant-colonel Thowenot. The service of this officer is as necessary in the artillery, as that of General Thowenot upon the staff.

I brought him, with no small trouble, from the foundry of Indret, near Nantes, which he had improved to a state of great perfection. I mean to fix him at the foundry of Malines, which is in the highest degree, necessary for the service of both the French and Belgian armies.

On account of this establishment, I have already experienced the ill-will of twenty officers of the artillery.

Lieutenant-colonel Thowenot is the only person fit to conduct it; and it is indispensibly necessary. Taking this officer from me, you will ruin, in its very beginning, the foundry of Malines, and deprive me of every resource for artillery,—especially

four

four-pounders, of which I am nearly in want, and which I hope to have cast here, in great abundance, and at less expence, than in France.

Of the guns taken in the arsenal of Malines, I shall send you 3000, if you give orders to this effect. But, I must observe, that these 3000 guns might be better disposed among the Belgian army which is to be raised, and which must amount to 32,000 infantry, and 8000 cavalry; whereas more guns have been taken at Nice and in Savoy, by General Anselme,—and a greater quantity of other arms at Spire, Worms, and Mentz, by General Custine; which it would be more natural to take, than to disarm a people to whom you say; *Be free!*

To Citizen Claviere, Minister for Public Contributions.

Tirlemont, Nov. 23, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I ADDRESS to you, Protestant Minister, the papers in a process raised against the Carthusian monks. To me Calvin and St Bruno are alike. The Republic will, I hope, be the gainer. I have time only to make you my compliments.

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LETTER

LETTER XVII.

From General Dumourier, to Citizen Pache.

Head-quarters at Tirlemont, Nov. 24, 1793. First year of the French Republic, and of the Liberty of Belgium.

CITIZEN,

IN your letter of the 12th, you require Citizen Malus to use the utmost vigilance in inspecting the conduct of the agents of the Masson company, and to take care that they exactly fulfill their contract in all its parts. This particular request, and the disgust which Citizen d'Espagnac appears to have for the service in which he is employed,—leave me not room to doubt of your having prejudices against this citizen, which I think, it will be for the interest of the republic, to have removed. I observed to you formerly, that the engagement of the Masson company to load each carriage with twenty four hundred weight instead of fifteen,—the usual load,—made their contract, a very advantageous one to the republic. I observed that a service regular, and independent of the requisitions to be otherwise daily made from the poor inhabitants of the country, was in itself for many reasons, an excellent contrivance; but it was additionally advantageous, in being intrusted to a company of intelligent men, by
which

which considerable expence was spared. Carriages are an article of the utmost importance to any army acting offensively. But, their utility is unspeakably great in a country such as Belgium, in this season of the year, and obliged as I am to struggle with impassable roads, as well as with the enemy. A punctuality and celerity are requisite, which cannot be conceived in theory. Great command of means, the most zealous good-will, and extraordinary intelligence are always necessary to the performance of this service, even tolerably well. But, the rapid march of the army, is a proof, that it is well performed.

After thus doing justice to the managers of the Masson company, so far as respects their performance of the service they have undertaken; I shall with pleasure, do the same justice to their patriotism and disinterestedness. I have had proofs of these, above all suspicion. Although the daily expences of this company be considerable; and they be obliged to support their credit by their own private resources; yet, perceiving, in the beginning of this month, that I should be at a loss for money to make my ordinary payments, they not only desired me to defer till the 15th, the payment of an order which they had, payable in specie, by the treasurer at Lille, for three hundred thousand livres,

—and sent a courier to make an hundred thousand livres which they had there, to be delivered to me; but they also remitted to the army-chest, twenty five thousand livres likewise in specie; and on the 15th, declared, that they would not require payment, till the funds which you promise, or which I hope to obtain, should enable me to re-imburse them.

Such facts, Citizen, related to such a man as you, need no commentary.

But, of all those employed in this service, none of them is more worthy of peculiar distinction, than Citizen d'Espagnac. To his ardour, nothing is impossible; his activity and resources are inexhaustible; his firmness fits him for conducting the most extensive enterprizes.

I have yet more to say in respect to him, which I particularly request you to communicate to the Convention. He is one of those to whose zeal and courage we are indebted for the quick formation of the provisionary government of Belgium. The partizans of Van-der-Noot having caused all the leading men in the society of the friends of equality, when about to meet, to be individually attacked, on the day of my arrival, Citizen d'Espagnac, that instant, offered himself for President of the Society, and fearlessly uttered those salutary truths which
will

will speedily bring this fine country up to the level of our philosophy. A journal of that memorable session for the friends of liberty and equality, having been printed; I send it you, to shew, how much he merited from his country upon that occasion. Besides, it is to his conduct he owes the honour of having been named by the provisional representatives of the city of Brussels, to represent them, as their deputy-extraordinary, in the National Convention.

I see, with much uneasiness, that, finding ill services done to him in your offices, he is strongly disposed to withdraw from his present undertaking.

I am therefore of opinion, Citizen, that the interest of the public service requires you to reject all prejudice, and instead of disgusting the Masson Company with the task in which they have engaged, rather to encourage them to persevere in it. I cannot too often repeat to you, that this service is of the utmost importance,—is extremely difficult,—and is the only means by which delapidation and an inconceivable pillage can be avoided.

Let us now enter into the merits of the question. Your letter of the 17th to the Commissary-Comptroller, seems to make a distinction between the conveyance of the forage of the general magazine, and that of salt, vinegar and other articles of food.

This

This latter service you assign to the Masson Company, as the object of the carriages with which they are intrusted. Permit me then to observe to you, that since the carriages are to be supplied by the Masson Company, to them belongs the conveyance of the different magazines of the army. This follows necessarily. The park of carriages cannot be distributed into different parts. It is the repository of all the carriages necessary for conveying whatever is stored in the magazines, to be carried thence to the camp.

The carriage of the forage to the magazines belongs to those by whom that forage is furnished. Your undertakers for this, as for other things, are to deliver them at the magazines.

You will therefore, Citizen, make an essential distinction in respect to the carriage of the forage, between the carriage of it to the general magazines which are formed for the supply of the wants of the army,—and the carriage of the contents of those magazines, afterwards to the camp. The former belongs to the commissaries for the forage, just as the conveyance of brandy, salt and wood, to the magazines is to be performed by the contractors for these several articles. But, it is evident that the second belongs to the Masson Company, since even salt, brandy, and wood, fall within their province. The same service, in the same place, cannot

not be divided and referred to different undertakers, without injury to its performance.

These same considerations have induced me to go much farther, and to contract with the Masson Company, for the service which respects the supply of provisions. Citizen d'Espagnac was at great pains to explain to me his own ideas upon this subject. He told me, that Citizen Servan had seen the necessity of reducing all the carriages necessary for the service of the armies under the management of the same persons, and had made an agreement with him and his company, to this purpose,—that you had not absolutely acceded to this agreement,—but that Citizen Hassen-Fratz was considering it when *he* left town.

I know not whether representations from the different generals of the Republic may have yet determined you to conclude the agreement determined upon, by Citizen Servan. But, the imperious wants of my army would not admit of delay on my part; and I have provisionally adopted this excellent measure, for the army under my command. I did this, the more confidently, because your predecessor had determined upon it.

Farther, I shall mention, to the honour of the Masson Company, that by their cares only am I enabled to make this part of the service go on.

Had

Had they not for these two days, furnished me with their carriages, bearing 1500 ratio's, instead of 1000, each performing one half more than the stated service, the army must have been left entirely at a loss.

I even intreat you to come to a good understanding with Citizen d'Espagnac, that he may hasten the arrival of the chests you have so long promised, or provide others instead of them. It will be otherwise impossible for me not to slacken the march of the army.

Upon the same considerations, I have, since the 20th current committed to him, the carriage of the siege-artillery, which requires more than five thousand horses. The commissaries for the management of the army-carriages, had sent hither Citizen Lancel Carre for this service; and if they had had horses to their carriages, I might no doubt have received them. But they had hardly entered Belgium, when they sent back their horses, —and were accordingly obliged, at every step, to seek carriages from the country. Nothing could have more unfortunately interfered with the supply of the wants of the army. To this it was necessary to put an immediate end, by intrusting the service to the Masson Company. There can be no difficulty in the affair, except about the price.

The

The departments and districts on the frontier, fixed it at an hundred and ten sols-assignat, each horse. It appears that Citizen Lancel Carre will not undertake it at a lower price. I confess myself unskilled to regulate it. You will settle it, as you think good. It is your concern. My business is only to take care that the service of the army be not injured. I hope that you will make no difficulties about this matter. I hope that none can arise concerning a matter which circumstances urge necessarily upon us. The Imperialists having taken away all the best carriages of the country; the Maffon Company have been obliged to purchase several which carry, each forty hundred weight,—equivalent to a four-wheeled carriage bearing two thousand, four hundred weight,—and to a carriage with two wheels, bearing fifteen or sixteen hundred weight. These purchases they have made, hoping that till other carriages shall be provided; they shall be permitted to charge for these, at the rate of one waggon with four wheels, and a cart with two. I thought that this arrangement of these matters, rendered indispensibly necessary by our circumstances, could not but meet with approbation. It is also economical, sparing two horses out of six, and one driver out of three.

I have

I have now only to mention an oversight which I committed in my letter in which I stated the number of carriages necessary for the use of the army under my command,—the number necessary for the armies also of Generals Valence and d'Harville,—and the mode of settling what is due to Masson and Company.

In respect to the first of these objects, I stated to you, that the battalions would require what was equal to twelve hundred carriages drawn by four horses, or thirteen hundred and fifty drawn by one horse, and twelve hundred drawn by two horses. For the park of artillery, I required other twelve hundred carriages drawn by four horses. But to these must be added—what will be equally requisite for the carriage of the tents, utensils, and the necessary instruments of all the persons employed about the carriages. For the artillery are reckoned four to the hundred,—to two thousand, four hundred carriages, ninety six supernumerary. Reducing therefore these carriages to others drawn by one, and by two horses, we should need, 1. The remaining hundred and fifty of the contract with Masson and Company of the 29th of November; 2. About seventy three drawn by two horses.

But, I am of opinion, that as this service hardly ever needs to be compleat, we might be content with

with the addition of 150 carriages drawn by one horse. Maffon and Company would then furnish for the armies commanded by Citizens Valence, d'Harville, and myself;

1. Twelve hundred carriages with four wheels, and drawn by four horses, such as those for which they have contracted,—each bearing 2,400. lbs.

2. Twelve hundred carriages drawn by two horses, agreeably to the contract of the 29th of September, bearing 14,00. weight.

3. Fifteen hundred carriages drawn by one horse, bearing each 800 lbs,—with seven hundred and fifty relief-horses. As to what must, at this instant, be paid to the Maffon Company, it is, I confess, not easy to determine. If the Maffon Company had, since the 15th of October, had the full complement of their contract, in actual service, and if the movements of our marches had been less rapid, the account might, in that case, have been easily settled. But, as the Company took to their accompt, from the 15th of October, all the carriages in the requisition and the pay of the Republic, and those carriages neither came, nor went away, all at the same time, the accompt must be long and complicated, and cannot be settled within less than a month. I should therefore think, that—not to give the Maffon Company more than is due

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to

to them, yet at the same time to enable them to go on with their contract,—the last fifteen days of October may be left in arrears to them, till their account for those days shall be ascertained with precision; and the whole of the current month paid up to the 1st of December; which will require about one million and twenty thousand livres.

WE Pache, Minister at War, in virtue of a decree of the National Convention, passed this day, whereof a copy is hereto subjoined; bearing that Citizens Malus, Petit-Jean, and d'Espagnac, the latter lately Abbe d'Espagnac, be put under arrest, in order that they may be produced at the bar of the Convention:

DO THEREFORE GIVE ORDERS to the General, Commander-in-chief of the army upon the expedition into Belgium, and to all general officers commanding the troops, and other officers in the army, TO GIVE THEIR AID AND ASSISTANCE, at the request of Citizens Ronfin and Huguenin, commissaries named by us for carrying this into effect, conjunctly or severally;—to put under arrest, deliver into the hands of the said Commissaries, and send to Paris, under sure and effectual guard, Citizens Malus and d'Espagnac—*late Abbe*; this conform to Powers by us committed to the above Commissaries

Done

Done at Paris, on the 22nd of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety two,---first year of the Republic.

PACHE, *Minister at War.*

Decree of the National Convention, passed on the 22nd of November, 1792, first year of the French Republic; Ordaining that Citizens Malus, Petit-Jean, and d'Espagnac be put under arrest.

THE National Convention Decree, that Citizens Malus, Petit-Jean, and d'Espagnac,---late *Abbe*,---shall be put under arrest, and brought to the bar of the National Convention.

In the name of the Republic, the provisional Executive Council Command and Ordain that all Bodies incorporated for Public Administration, and all Courts of Justice insert the present law in their records, read, publish, post it up, and put it into execution in their respective departments and districts of authority. In confidence of which, we have affixed our signature, and the seal of the Republic,---Paris, the 22nd of November, 1792, first year of the French Republic: (Signed) ROLAND, (Counter-signed) GARAT: and sealed with the seal of the Republic.

Conform to the original, (Signed) GARAT.

A true copy, (Signed) PACHE, Minister at War.

LETTER XIX.

From Pache Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 22, 1792.—First year of the Republic,

GENERAL,

I HAVE time only to inform you, that, as the decree against Commissary-Comptroller Malus, renders it necessary to name a successor to him; the Provisionary Executive Council have appointed to this charge, Citizen Ronfin.

The order to arrest Citizens Malus and d'Espagnac, will be put into your hands by Citizen Ronfin, who, as commissary, has powers to make every demand, necessary for the execution of the decree*.

PACHE, *Minister at War.*

Letter from Dumourier to the Minister of Justice.

Tirlemont, Nov. 24, 1792. First year of the Republic.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

I PAY instant obedience to your order to arrest and send to the bar of the National Convention, Citizens Malus, Commissary Comptroller, and d'Espagnac, contractor for carts to the army. General la Bourdonnaye will also arrest Commissary-general Petit-Jean.

I must

* Ronfin, by profession, a Poet, the accuser of Malus.

I must say, that if this measure had been taken of purpose to disorder the army in Belgium, and to stop them on their march; a more fatal measure could not have been contrived, than that of depriving us of two Commissaries-general, distinguished for their talents and probity, and a Contractor, who is a man of ability, and uncommonly fertile in resources.

I am even now confident that these three Citizens will be able to exculpate themselves from every charge; all which charges are the fabrication of dishonest intrigues, of which I shall say *somewhat* to the Minister at war. But, it is not for this the less true, that taking them away, you deprive me of all my resources, and render the success of my campaign finally impossible,---by depriving me of the only men upon whom I can depend for the supply of subsistence to the army.

Colonel Westermann is charged with the care of conducting Citizens Malus and d'Espagnac to your order. Far from being afraid, they only desire such an opportunity to confound their enemies.

I fear that their accusers may hereafter have reason to blame themselves as the authors of the distress of the army under my command; and that the true cause of this arrest prove to be nothing but *levity*, which is ever unpardonable. In the

mean time, the army suffers for all; and I know not, whether I shall be able to continue the campaign, without the Commissary-general, and without a due provision of means for our subsistence.

LETTER XX.

From Pache, Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 24, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

I AM ever anxious to send you, with as little delay as possible, all articles of dress and equipment necessary for the use of your army. I therefore send to you, Citizen Huguenin, by whom this letter will be delivered, and who has it in charge to examine the condition of every corps in your army, the extent, and the nature of their wants, and to take measures for the supply of those wants.

I intreat you, General, to afford this Citizen all due opportunities of accomplishing the purpose for which he is sent to you. His patriotism, and his abilities render him worthy of your confidence.

PACHE, *Minister at War.*

LETTER

LETTER XXI.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 25, First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

I HAVE received your letters of the 22nd of this month; and shall communicate to the National Convention, the news which they contain.

I acquainted you, on the 22nd, that I had given orders to General la Bourdonnaye, to return into the department of the North, in which he now commands.

You are at liberty to put at the head of the division which he conducted into Belgium, either General Duval, or any other officer who possesses your confidence.

At your request, I have directed 20 battalions to march to Douay and Valenciennes. Of this I gave you notice on the 21st. It is therefore not without surprize, that I have seen the orders given by Lieutenant-general Moreton, to Citizen Roland, commissary of the Executive Power, to send into Belgium, all the battalions of the departments of Aisne, Oise, and others. I beg you to inform the officers at the head of your staff, that they have not authority to give orders to troops which belong
not

not to the army in which they are themselves placed; and to let them know, at the same time, that those Citizens, who are commissaries from the Executive Power, can take their orders from the council only.

Citizen Peirot Valcourt has been appointed to serve in the army on the Moselle. I shall make out a Lieutenant's commission for Citizen Collard-Dutrone, and take the first opportunity of promoting his advancement.

P. S. I send you the decree of the National Convention concerning the twenty pairs of colours, taken in the hands of the Belgians at Malines.—I open my dispatch to say that I have received yours of the 23d, in which you again complain of General la Bourdonnaye.

LETTER XVIII.

*From General Dumourier, to Citizen Pache Minister
at War.*

Tirlemont, Nov. 24, 1792. First year of the Republic.

IT is time, Citizen-minister, that I display the full force of my character, and pour forth all my indignation, against the base intrigues which are framed.

framed to disconcert my present expedition, and all the dishonest means employed to occasion its failure.

General la Bourdonnaye has been given me for a co-adjutor, who uses all means to excite a civil war in this unhappy country,—to produce the massacre of those feeble garrisons which I have left,—and to make the French nation abhorred in it.

Nor is this all. I have been promised, even by yourself, in all your letters, sufficient supplies of means for subsistence, camp-equipage, clothing, hospitals; and I see nothing arrive but convoys of some few things; so that one-half of the army is in want of necessaries.

You promised me money. I have received none. And the pay-master of the army, who is but just arrived, brings but little.

The contracts which absolute necessity compelled me to negotiate, have been rejected, in order to deliver up the country to the monopolies, and avaricious speculations of an exclusive company,—as I shall prove by your own letter, which I send back to you, in two columns. Then, after delivering up Belgium to the speculations of an exclusive company under the direction of your offices,—after filling these unfortunate provinces with terror, confusion, and despair,—the band of intriguers about you,—calumniate and misrepresent to the virtuous Cambon, three
men.

men of whose abilities and intelligence they are afraid. Disregarding the necessity of prosecuting my military operations, and the utility of those men for this end,—they order me to arrest them,—obtaining against them a decree of accusation which is founded on calumnious pretences---at least if nothing more serious can be laid to their charge, than what is alledged in the Monitor.

I do justice, Citizen, to your virtue: I have known it long. But, you have bad men about you: and you listen too unsuspiciously to accusations brought against men of ability by others who desire only to have their places.

I know not whether any part of the intrigues about your offices, be directed against me. Possibly my complaints against Citizen Hassen-fratz for attempting to break a contract which I maintained, may have inflamed him against Citizen Malus. His attack may be directed against me, through the sides of the Commissary-comptroller, whom I have known for thirty years, and who possesses my entire confidence, on account of his integrity and abilities.

I am in no uneasiness respecting the fate of the Commissary-comptroller. He will confound his false accusers. But, I protest against the injury which is done to the service by depriving me of three
men.

men whose labours are absolutely necessary to the army, and sending none to supply their room.

It is strange that 60,000 men should thus be sent into a foreign country, and there delivered up a prey to want and confusion.

If in consequence of so many obstacles which the French only---throw in my way; I should at last fail of success in an expedition on which the glory and safety of my country depend; then, upon arriving at Liege,---stationing the army under my command, upon the Meuse,---and quartering them so as to secure the conquest of Belgium; I will send my letter of resignation to the Convention,---that I may escape disgrace and ruin from those base machinations by which all my schemes are thwarted,---and may avoid being made the instrument of avarice or tyranny.

Be assured, Citizen, that I do you justice, and that, among all the severe things I write to you, nothing is intended to yourself personally.

LETTER

LEETTER XX.

*From General Dumourier, to Citizen Pache, Minister
at War.*

Liege, Nov. 29, 1792. First year of the Republic.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Egalite, being called by an important family-affair, goes to Paris with my permission, and will deliver to you, Citizen-minister, a dispatch from General Miranda, announcing the capture of the castle of Antwerp. I approve highly of the capitulation which he has granted; 1. Because it spares the effusion of blood, saves all such precious effects as may be found in the citadel, and prevents the city from being damaged by the cannonading which would otherwise have been necessary, if the Austrians had been reduced to despair: 2. Because it enables General Miranda to proceed more speedily along the Meuse, towards Mafeyk and Ruremonde,—as I cannot reckon myself master of the Meuse, till the latter of these cities be taken; and because it regains lost time.

I have received your letter of the 26th, concerning Languet the courier. I know nothing of the man; he came to me from you or your predecessor; with his principles I am unacquainted. But, perhaps the accusation against him may be in consequence

sequence of a quarrel he had with a man at Paris, who was proposed for Mayor, but whose name I have forgotten. I undertake not the defence of this courier: I am no wise interested in him. I have asked a courier's place for Citizen Drouet of Saint-Menehould, brother to the deputy in the Convention of that name,—as he now exercises the functions, without having the appointments.

I must confess, Citizen-minister, that the system of accusation which is now established with the most alarming rapidity, is in general calculated to terrify and distress all honest citizens. It engenders suspicion and animosity sufficient to embitter all the benevolence and fraternity of our rising republic. It involves us in a series of proscriptions which deprives the agents of the republic of their places, before they can be judged, and substitutes the accusers in the places of the accused, often in rewards for calumnies, or for accusations which, however true, are trivial.

You may well suppose, Citizen-minister, that these remarks against accusations, are naturally to lead me to express my surprise, that Citizen Ronfin who has, never in his life, probably, had any experience in the direction of any thing connected with military affairs, should have been nominated commissary-comptroller, instead of Citizen Ma-

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lus

lus, in reward for denouncing him in a very frivolous and false printed pamphlet. It is the intention of our laws, that no Citizen be deprived of the advantages of his condition, before having been fairly tried. In respect to one employed in administration for which he is accountable, these laws are peculiarly delicate. But, they have been violated in the person of Citizen Malus. The whole army are discouraged at seeing that neither the honour, nor the liberty of citizens, are secure from calumny, or frivolous accusation. By this the service suffers, ---union and confidence being destroyed. The case is the same at Paris, and will be so through the whole empire, till the National Convention shall appoint a particular committee to examine and prepare for their consideration, all accusations, with a strict regard, as well to the conduct of the accuser, as to that of the person accused. This is perhaps the only means to save the republic from the furies of faction. The revolution has its intriguers, as well as the old government. Our manners were too much corrupted to leave it possible, that there should not many unprincipled persons disguise their vices and schemes of ambition under hair without powder, and a red cap. Our *declaration of Rights* is founded upon the most amiable and fraternal moral principles. I lament to see us recede from it daily
by

by an unwise severity, and a pretended austerity which favours not a little of knavery and corruption.

I shall desire General Moreton to send no more orders to Citizen Rolland, Commissary of the Executive power. I must, one day, request the counsel to explain to me the functions of their commissaries, whom I do not know to be created by any law. They infest our armies; and I have had six of them here together, without either knowing their powers, or being able to obtain from themselves, an explanation of them. These emissaries or commissaries go about gathering calumnies, in coffee houses, against the Generals and Administrators of the Republic, and afterwards work them up into denunciations which are more favourably received than the news of our victories. Citizen Rolland offered me the battalions of the Aisne, the Oise, and others. I had reason to believe, that he was authorized by the minister at war to make those offers: And this justifies the orders given by General Moreton.

I shall with great pleasure execute the decree of the 20th of November, ordering me to restore to the Belgians the twenty pairs of colours taken from them.

M. 2

Nothing

Nothing is neglected on my part, to assist Citizen Huguenin in his endeavours to learn the wants of the troops. I must avow to you, Citizen-minister, that I am not a little surprized, that after giving me orders to send Citizens Malus and d'Espagnac to Paris, you should have shewn so little confidence in me, as to direct Citizen Huguenin to perform the duty of the late exempts of police, and conduct them thither. I have given this charge to Colonel Westermann, enjoining him to treat them with respect, and conduct them safe; as I have no reason to believe them guilty. I hope that this affair will soon be terminated, and the two *administrators* if innocent, restored to the exercise of their former functions. Citizen Ronfin will then lose the fruit of his accusation, and go elsewhere to exert his zeal and his abilities.

As to what concerns myself,—I expect an answer to my letter from the National Convention. I engage also to invalidate some false assertions which have been made by some of the members in the heat of debate. It should seem, that in this war, my rear-guard is not securely to be depended upon, and that I have enemies much more dangerous than the Austrians. But, I promise you to prove my logic as good as their guns.

I send

I send you a copy of an answer which I write to General Custine. It is of the utmost importance, that it be carefully considered in the Council. You wrote me that you were of my opinion, when I, at your own request, communicated to you, my system for the war. Yet, our armies advance farther and farther into Germany, without taking Coblenz, or making sure of the course of the Rhine. I foretell that this conduct must expose us to be attacked and broken, next Spring, in the centre by the way of Cologne, Coblenz, Treves, and Luxembourg. I should complete this folly,—were I to advance to the Rhine, before a more prudent and regularly connected system of war be adopted. The simple inspection of the map will shew you the truth of what I say. It is high time for us to determine on this head.

LETTER XXII.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 25, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs read yesterday in the Council, a letter from you, in which

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you

you discover a disposition to drive the enemy only over the Meuse,—and then to fix your quarters upon that river. This design is a deviation from your plan, and from the dispositions made in consequence of it. Those dispositions are at this moment executed on the Moselle and the Rhine, where all is in motion to contribute to the accomplishment of your plan.

In conformity to this plan, which is worthy of the French Nation, and to make it known to Europe; the Executive Council have determined, that the armies of the Republic shall not lay down their arms till the enemy be repulsed to the farther side of the Rhine,—and the National Assembly have sanctioned the decree.

When the Council enacted it, they depended particularly upon you, in consequence of your letter of the 14th. After asking from me, 20 battalions which were in garrison, you add; “Nothing can
“be more urgently necessary, than this measure.
“I demand them from you the more earnestly, because I mean to take up my winter-quarters between the Moselle and the Rhine; if my grand
“plan be so followed out in all its parts, that
“Treves and Coblenz may be taken within fifteen
“days, and General Beurnonville at Cologne within
“in a month.”

The

The 20 battalions marched without delay. The armies on the Moselle and the Rhine receive daily reinforcements, and are in constant activity. Beurnonville and Custine depend upon you, and like you, think, that a few weeks more of vigorous exertion may spare us the expence and dangers of a second campaign. I therefore hope, General, that you will not halt within the full execution of this grand plan which has been adopted from you; that you will not suffer the Austrians and Prussians to fix themselves between the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine,---nor allow them time to receive that subsistence, and those reinforcements which they want; in a word, that you will not forego the glory of having, in a single campaign, secured the liberty of France.

I subjoin extracts from some letters from General Custine, relative to the plan of operations which he proposed to you, in a letter which he requests me to transmit to you, but which is not contained in his dispatch.

(Signed) PACHE.

Citizen

Citizen Custine to Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Head-quarters at Mentz, Nov. 19, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

I SUBJOIN here a fourth letter to General Beurnonville, from which you will see, that I persist still in my plan, and think it of great consequence, that we gain possession of Treves. Treves and Coblentz once ours,---I see no possibility of retreat remaining to the Austrians now in Flanders; especially, as I desire General Dumourier, to take the precaution of breaking down the bridge of Dusseldorff, and extending his right in order to make himself master of the Meuse. If the state of the roads would allow, and if he have not received information to divert from his plan of following up the course of the Meuse; his success might be as compleat, and perhaps at the expence of fewer lives upon this plan. I subjoin the letter which I have written to him. I desire you, Citizen-minister, to persuade him to adopt these measures, and to press nearer and nearer to the enemy with his right wing, that they may not reach the Moselle, before he come up with them.

The

The magazines which he must have found at Brussels, will have sufficiently supplied him with means of subsistence; which I do not see, how Clairfayt could procure, even although he should repass the Meuse.

A true Copy. PACHE, Minister at War.

Extract of a letter from General Custine to the Minister at War; dated, Head-quarters at Mentz, November 21, 1792, first year of the French Republic.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

AFTER vanquishing our enemies, we must beware of slackening our activity. The misfortunes of Lewis XIV. began when he was master of all Flanders, had his armies on the Danube, and had successfully invaded Piedmont.

The king of Prussia, one of the weakest of kings, has determined to ruin his army and exhaust his treasury, in supporting the house of Austria. It has cost this house, seventeen millions of florins to obtain the alliance of Frederick-William,—and three millions more, to glut the avarice of the profligate and treacherous servants of his ambitious Family. I am certain of the truth of what I write. By this
you

you may judge, citizen, that with the loss of a moment, we must vigorously continue the war.

(Signed)

Citizen-general CUSTINE.

A true Copy. PACHE, Minister at War.

Extract of a Letter from General Custine to General Beurnonville; dated Mentz, November 22d, first year of the Republic.

I think with you, that, before entering upon such an enterprize we must have done with Hohenlohe's corps. It is even necessary, that Dumourier send General Valence into Luxembourg; that Dumourier himself take possession of Cologne. Then, Traarbach and Reinfelds being taken, Coblenz blocked up by a body of our troops, and Luxembourg likewise blocked up, I see no difficulty that we can have to finish the campaign with the operations which I propose.

A true Copy. PACHE, Minister at War.

General

*General Custine to the Citizen-Minister at War.**

*Head-quarters at Mentz, November 23, 1792,
first year of the Republic.*

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

I DESIRE General Dumourier, in a letter which I beg that you will transcribe to him, to seize Cologne as soon as possible, in order to straiten the Prussians as much as possible, in their present situation, and to deprive them of subsistence,—the only means by which we can compel them to retire,—as their king has become furious.

A true Copy. PACHE, Minister at War.

LETTER XX.

*From General Dumourier to Citizen Pache, Minister
at War.*

Liege, November, 30. 1792, first year of the Republic.

IN reply to your letter of the 27th, Citizen-Minister, I shall recount to you the obstacles which oppose my urging the Campaign beyond the Meuse. When the executive Power, or the National Convention

* The letter is not subjoined.

vention shall have removed them, I may then follow fully out the grand plan which I conceived, to secure the liberty of France, by making the Rhine, the barrier between her and despotism. Before entering into this detail of particulars, I must say, Citizen-Minister, that I cannot believe upon less than your solemn assurance, that the Council have adopted my plan; for the measures they have taken are in direct opposition to it.

The letter which I wrote you yesterday, and my answer to General Custine afford a proof of what I here assert. The Council have not only not adopted my plan; but they have even encouraged Custine to advance into the heart of Germany, contrary to all the rules of prudence. To support his invasion, they have subjected General Beurnovelle to his command, and unless you have sent precise orders, it should seem by the letters of these generals, that the taking of Treves and Coblenz, is out of the question. The one thinks himself too weak to accomplish this object alone, and the other shews no inclination to turn back, to give him assistance. In this state were things on the 23d. of this month. From this you may judge, that the article which you quote out of my letter of the 14th, would be rather against, than for our expedition beyond the Meuse. I say, expressly; "That
" all

“if my grand plan be duly prosecuted through
 “all its parts; Treves and Coblentz may then be
 “taken within fifteen days, and General Beur-
 “nonville may be at Cologne within a month.”

You must agree, Citizen-Minister, that we have not taken the way to advance so rapidly. The four extracts which you have sent me from General Custine's letters are not in the spirit of my plan. He would have me to march to Cologne,---Valence to block up Luxembourg,---and lastly me to direct the whole weight of the war to the right, that is, into Germany, for the support of his own remote operations. He pretends, that by the way of Germany, I shall soonest compel the Austrians to withdraw from the Low-Countries. He pretends, that I have done wrong in making a direct attack upon them. He says that I should have attacked them by the way of the Meuse, as if I had not done so. He alledges, that I must have found immense magazines in Brussels; as if the Austrians had not consumed those magazines. From all this he concludes, that I have nothing to do, but to advance, and conquer; as you likewise seem to think. I shall explain to you, my difficulties.

1. It is very uncertain, whether I retain the command. I will retain it, only on the conditions expressed in my letter to the National Convention.

I must be absolutely master of all the means necessary to my success, without being thwarted in so vast an enterprise, by intrigue, monopoly, or ill-timed parsimony. Otherwise, nothing in the world shall induce me to remain here, and share the disgrace and ruin of my country.

2. I have neither bread, forage, nor money : and Citizen Ronfin, your Commissary-comptroller has orders not to contract for any. As nothing is done for us by your Committee for purchases ; and as I cannot abandon the victorious army under my command, to despair or mutiny ; I have given him orders, of the necessity of which he is himself sensible, to procure a loan, and purchase provisions and forage. This is a new crime, of which I shall clear myself, as of the rest.

3. The army is diminished from day to day, in an alarming manner. I have not above 21,000 men under my command. Few of the battalions amount to 300 men. Some companies are reduced to 7 or 8. The decree declaring our country out of danger, has made most of the volunteers think themselves at liberty to begone. A great number have gone off, without asking leave. Of those who remain, the greater number, even whole battalions together, having made their declaration, two months since, insist upon leaving the army on
the

the first of December, that is, to-morrow; and unless the National Convention be very prompt in their measures, I shall soon, in consequence of their decree, be a General without an army.

4. The revolution is far from being accomplished in Brabant. The cabal of Prussia, Orange, Vander-noot, the Priests, and the States, predominate in three-fourths of the country. I must at least organize a new government in Liege, that, I may, afterwards, by means of it, maintain our influence in Brabant; a necessary operation, which will consume, at least fifteen days. The 20 battalions which you promise me, will no doubt arrive; but, it may be, slowly and partially. In the mean time, I weaken my force, by the subtraction of the garisons which I am obliged to leave. Ere I should reach the Rhine, I should have scarcely a handful of men with me.

5. General Miranda has taken the citadel of Antwerp in a manner highly honourable and advantageous to us. But, I cannot think of passing the Meuse, till he shall be upon this river, with his army. Whatever his expedition, he cannot be there, within less than eight days; and he must begin with taking Ruremonde, before I can order his column towards the Rhine.

6. I must also wait till General Valence, having taken the citadel of Namur, shall join me at Huy, of which my forces have, this day, taken possession. I shall leave General d'Harville's division, as I have formerly mentioned to you, for the defence of the Meuse.

7. I want caps; shoes, blankets, woollen stockings, if they can be had, and particularly breeches, before I can make any grand movement.

8. The whole country between the Meuse and the Rhine being naturally poor, and having been eaten up by the enemy; we must have at least two grand magazines for bread and forage, one at Liege, —the other at Ruremonde.

Not only, Citizen-minister, have you made no provision for the supply of any of our wants; but, you cannot make any; because your Commissary-comptroller has not power to pass a single bargain,

These are the obstacles opposing the plan for advancing to the Rhine. Remove these; and then neither the army of the republic, nor myself will find any thing impossible. But, consider well, that you must first be sure that Treves and Coblenz shall be taken before the month of January; otherwise this march would be inexcusably imprudent; and however daring I may be, I would not take it upon me to be responsible for it. For, should I advance

advance towards the Rhine, then, if it be true, that the Austrian army has received considerable reinforcements, I should be attacked in front; and the Imperial troops which have retired into Luxembourg, and, thanks to Custine's exploits in Germany, are checked by none of our armies,—would attack my right flank, which, being drawn out into a great length, would be weak; and my rear might be easily broken, or my retreat greatly harrassed,—if I should be obliged to retire from the Rhine, for the defence of the Meuse, and the Low Countries.

You will farther observe, Citizen-minister, that I am far from being sure of the Dutch. The opening of the Scheldt cannot but greatly displease them. I should not be surpris'd, if at the instigation of Prussia and England, the Stadtholder were to declare his resentment. In Maestricht, there is a garrison of 9000 men; and preparations for defence are now made, which indicate at least no good will to us. I cannot venture to march farther in this direction, without knowing the determination of the Dutch. Should they fall on my left, and the Austrians at the same time on my right; the army of the Republic would be inevitably ruined: and the liberty of Belgium and Liege would be effectually frustrated. * * * *

* * * * *

Give me an answer, as speedily as possible to all these articles; and believe me to be at least as zealous a patriot, as those who attack me, and intrigue against me, and who will no doubt blame my obstinacy. I expect impatiently the decision of the National Convention upon my letter of the 25th, which will determine my fate and my plans.

P. S. I subjoin an account of the state of our Army-chest, which will shew you, what was in it yesterday. I have, this day, received just as much as will serve for the payment of to-morrow.

Nothing can be more unwise or awkward in policy, than to bring money from France hither. Since brokers and bankers must be employed; I had rather leave the profit to those of Belgium; but keep the specie among ourselves.

LETTER XXIII.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Nov. 30, 1792. First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

I HAVE received your two letters of the 24th and 25th of this month, and agreeably to your desire expressed in the last, have communicated to the Convention, your answer concerning the system
adopted

adopted for the purchase of all the provisions necessary to the service of the republic. I am making a copy of your several letters to be transmitted to the Convention.

It belongs not to me in particular, General, to reply to your observation upon a system adopted by several ministers in concert, to avoid the inconveniencies of a divided management in respect to the purchase of the means of subsistence. I shall only say, as I have adopted it for as much as concerns myself, that I see no disadvantage likely to arise from it, which would not equally arise from any other arrangement for the same objects, that can be proposed, and which may not be obviated by vigilant attention.

This board can never purchase, unless for consumption,—never for a secondary sale. They are to give an account of their transactions. They are forbidden all trade. I cannot see, therefore, any reason for those fears of engrossing and monopoly, which you express*.

I observe farther, General, that you must have considered the Board, chiefly with respect to its ability to supply the wants of your army; and that

I know

* It might gratify curiosity, to know, how a Minister could hinder *so skilful a merchant* as Bidermann from speculating on his own account, when he is sure of a sale. Such simplicity does not bespeak the statesman.

I know not whether you have put it into its power to serve you to your satisfaction. Surely Citizen Pick who was expressly charged to receive his orders from you, cannot have neglected to inform you of the numerous purchases made by the Commission from whom he is delegated? If this be the case, General, I should have wished that you had particularly informed me of it, and had enabled me to add my complaints to yours, against the first acts of this Board.

Lastly, General, I observe, that the subsistence of the army is to be regarded as hitherto, wholly independent of the new regulation for purchases. From what had been before provided, and from the condition of the magazines at your disposal; you have corn or meal for more than six months; and all is still supplied by the old victualling company, against which you made no complaints.

You see, General, that I confine myself to the present question.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER

LETTER XXI.

To Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Dec 2, 1792. First year of the Republic.

CERTAINLY, Citizen-minister, you cannot have received my letters, at the time when yours was written, which is dated on the 24th. Is it possible, that, at the very time when the National Convention are excited to take measures of precaution against my interference in the purchase of provisions for the army under my command,—you should employ me to obtain from the magistrates the necessary passports for the exportation of grain from Belgium.

I shall certainly take care not to execute any such commission. It is unjust, impolitic, cannot be carried into execution, and would involve me in the odium which all Belgium has conceived against the Agents of what you call a Committee for purchases, but I, a company of Foresters, I have this day, seen Mosselmann and Pick for the first time. They began with telling me that the opinion only,—entertained in Flanders and Brabant, that they bought up grain for a French company, and for exportation,—had brought them in danger of being hanged, and that they were therefore

fore very glad at receiving by a courier on the 26th, a revocation of the order for exportation.

I should suppose that my letter to the president of the National Convention must already have produced some effect. But, it has not yet produced all that I expect from it,—the complete abolition of the exclusive privileges of your committee of Purchases. I am surprised, Citizen-minister, that you should fancy yourself to have proved to me by your letters of the 11th and 24th, that the monopoly in the purchase of grain is likely to procure at a better price, than liberty and the competition of the sellers! Were it even so, yet how base and ungenerous would it be in us to employ so odious and tyrannical an expedient?

It is still more strange, that you should think of sending meal from France, at a great expence, rather than give your ascent to contracts which secured our supplies. I know not when your supplies are to arrive; but, in the mean time the army wants bread. An exclusive company may thus make vast profits, by sending grain from the North to the South, and then from the South to the North again.

Pick and Mosselmann have farther told me, that the terms of their bargain were to furnish no meal or flour for the army, sooner than the first of January.

nuary; and that, in consequence of this, what they had at present, was grain not yet made into flour.

How, then, Citizen-minister, since you could not be ignorant, that these were the terms,---have you been induced to deprive us of the money appropriated for the purchase of provisions, and to break those contracts which might have supplied us, till the first of January:---instead of leaving the gallant army of the Republic to perish for hunger, and rendering it impossible for me, either to proceed farther, or live where I am. Why have you deprived us not only of the money necessary for the purchase of grain, but also of that which was appropriated to the purpose of forage? Why has Citizen Boye, Commissary for the purchase of forage, been recalled, after his signal services in Champagne? services on which I bestowed their due praise, at the bar of the Convention. In consequence of this seizure of our cash, and prohibition of purchases; all the horses of the army would, at the same time, have wanted forage; had not a patrol of horse, luckily seized on the Meuse, two boats of forage which the Austrians were sending to Maestricht. To-morrow we shall not know how to support our horses, unless the requisitions which I have made upon the country, and which the good will

will of the inhabitants of Liege to us, may perhaps render effectual, shall afford us hay, straw, and oats.

Our want of money is still more alarming. By the inclosed account of the state of the army-chest, you will see that there remains in it not more than 3000 livres, and that their pay is now due to the whole army. I have been able to think only of one expedient, by which nearly an hundred and seventy thousand livres are procured; a loan from the Chapters in the city of Liege. But, you are to observe, that of these hundred and seventy thousand livres, your Commissary-comptroller, (who is much surpris'd to find himself obliged to engage in circumstances so critical, in the exercise of functions to which he is an entire stranger,) must first make the necessary advances for provisions, and forage, and hospitals; after which he will have nothing remaining for the pay of the troops. This Commissary-comptroller takes up this loan by my orders, in opposition to your express injunctions to him, neither to raise loans, nor make contracts.

Thus, Citizen-minister, contrary to the intentions of Citizen Cambon, I find myself obliged to provide my army with both money and provisions; thus is this army left without bread, without forage, without money. Judge what indignation I must feel, when I see all these things misrepresented

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ed to the National Convention; when I see myself deprived of every man of abilities who was employed as a Commissary,—and others sent in their room, who cannot avoid confessing their own incapacity; when I see the army destitute of every necessary, falling the victim of imprudence and avarice; when I see my plans all disconcerted, the success of my campaign perhaps frustrated, and my reputation attacked by men who are either dishonest or deceived!

Be not astonished, Citizen-minister, if, in order to establish the truth of what I assert, and to expose the imprudence or wickedness of those who reduce me to this situation, I transmit to the National Convention, copies of all the dispatches which I shall send you, till this state of things be rectified. Neither can you be surprised if I should give in my letter of resignation, if that change of measures on which I insist, do not take place within eight days. The whole nation knows, that I fear no responsibility, so far as I am only personally concerned; but, will approve of my unwillingness to subject myself to responsibility for the conduct of others.

On **LETTER**

LETTER XXII.

To Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Dec. 2, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

FOR some time, Citizen-minister, all your decisions have tended to dis-organize the army, and reduce them to despair. I have received from you, two letters dated on the 27th, in one of which you determine, that Citizen Laroque whom I have named to the twenty-ninth regiment of infantry, of which he was lieutenant-colonel, shall not receive a Colonel's commission; you having named to the command of this regiment, Citizen Ocomorgan, an Irishman, from the regiment of Dillon, who has always served within the Empire; while the brave Laroque, one of the oldest officers in the army, has served since the beginning of the war, is adored by his regiment, and distinguished himself in the battle of Jemappe. You will note, that, when I promoted this brave citizen to the rank of Colonel, I knew not that the Irishman Ocomorgan had been named to his regiment, and that I had then power to make this promotion.

In your other letter, you inform me, that Colonel Kilmaine whom I named to the sixth regiment

ment of hussars, immediately after the battle of Jemappe, in reward for his having, with his hussars, attacked the enemy's infantry in their intrenchments and in the woods, and for having saved the centre of my Line,---must give up his regiment to Citizen Lagrange, presently colonel of the sixth regiment of dragoons; which Colonel Lagrange knows not a word of German; and has resigned into my hands, his pretensions to the sixth regiment of hussars,—that he may not injure the brave Kilmaine; who is one of the most experienced officers in the army,—while Colonel Lagrange having been only aide-de-camp to Marshal Luckner, and a colonel but for three months, can have no experience.

Consider, Citizen-minister, whether I can punish and degrade two old officers, by paying implicit obedience to your order, without first attempting, by a remonstrance to the National Convention, to procure a redress of these wrongs which cannot fail to do harm in the army.

Since the decree was passed, by which Generals are deprived of the power of nominating to military offices; I have paid a respectful obedience to it. But, I must say, that your offices make a provoking use of it. Thus has the army under my command, been filled with adjutants and adjuncts, who know

nothing of their business. Among others, there has been given me for an adjunct, a dancer from the Company of Nicolet. I should not notice the appellation of *dancer*, if his abilities were equal to the agility of his limbs.

The intention of the decree was no doubt to prevent the Generals from gaining too many creatures in their armies, by promotions. But, they should at least be consulted, when the higher offices and posts of confidence, are to be disposed of. The choice should always fall on officers who are known to the foldiers, and possess their confidence.

LETTER XXIII.

To Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Dec. 3, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

A NEW confusion, Citizen-minister, in the nomination to employments, arises in the case of Citizen Tilly, whom you have named Colonel to the sixth regiment of dragoons, for no other reason, than because the place was pre-occupied in the fourteenth regiment, to the command of which you had named him on the 26th of October,—Citizen Radot having been provisionally received as Colonel
of

of the regiment, at the nomination of General Kellermann. Certainly my nomination of the brave Kilmaine ought to be considered in the same light as General Kellermann's nomination of Citizen Radot. I am sorry for Citizen Tilly: but, I must say, that he has not borne arms since the very commencement of the war; that he has passed almost all his time at Liege, where he has a wife, and whence he came to join the army,---only in the month of October,---at which time he presented himself to me, with the commission of a lieutenant-colonel of dragoons, which had been given him. The fate of Citizen Tilly depends on your determination respecting the brave Kilmaine; for if the latter remain Colonel of the sixth regiment of hussars,—Lagrange must retain the sixth of dragoons. Something else must then be done for Citizen Tilly.

Proclamation by General Dumourier.

PEOPLE OF BELGIUM,

WHEN I entered your provinces, to expel the tyrants by whom you were oppressed; I announced to you, in the name of the French Republic and Nation, that you were free; and that the sovereignty of your country was restored to the Peo-

ple: I recommended to you, to name provisional magistrates, and directors of your public business, that there might be no interruption of the necessary transactions of Government,—and that you might break, at once, the ties by which you were attached to the House of Austria. This measure, suggested by prudence, instead of proving salutary, has rekindled all the factions which raged in your former revolution, and which were, and still are, fomented by your tyrants, of purpose to hinder you from establishing a solid and equal Constitution. The distinctions of *Vonkists*, *Vander otjts*, *Royalists*, *Partisans of the States*—must be altogether abolished; if you wish to enjoy the fruit of our victories, and important benefits conferred on you by the French Nation. All distinctions of provinces, orders, professions; all those vain chimeras which perpetuate the tyranny of one part of a Community, and the slavery of the rest; all that degrades the native dignity of man,—must be, for ever abolished. You are Belgians; but you are also freemen, equals, citizens: be brothers, be unanimous; you have all an equal right to assist in forming your Laws, your Constitution, and your Government. It is high time that you form your primary assemblies, and proceed to elect members for a national convention;

your

your prudent choice of whom, must determine your future fate.

I therefore request you to assemble from town and country, without distinction of persons,—in the central cities of your late provinces, and in the following form, &c.

LETTER XXIV.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier,

Paris, December 2, 1792. First year of the Republic.

YESTERDAY, General, I received the news of your victory at Waroux, your taking possession of Liege,—the capture of the citadel of Antwerp. Your arms thus restore liberty to two nations at once. The triumphs obtained under your conduct by the arms of the republic, augment our hopes. Seeing you so impatient to drive our enemies from a post in which they had halted to refresh themselves; we expect that you will not suffer them to rest on this side of the Rhine.

I depend upon you, as to both Beurnonville, and Custine, who has been in danger of being overpowered by the Austrians and Prussians, before he could receive your support. Notwithstanding the reinforcements

reinforcements which he has received, he is still so weak in cavalry, that I should be uneasy as to his situation, were it not that the orders which you have given to Miranda, and still more my knowledge of your character, make me foresee your orders to Valence, and your whole system of operations.

Thus at ease in respect to the wisdom of your plans; my only anxiety is for the wants of your army. If you are still distressed by any such wants, the reason is, because there are some, which I must have time and means to enable me to supply.

I have for some time, solicited a decree of the Convention, empowering me to employ to the best advantage, those officers whom you have raised to victory, and who, for the benefit of the republic, must be promoted to higher offices. You, general, will assure Citizens Dampierre, Steingel, Barrois, and Devaux, that, as soon as the law shall permit me, they shall be named to the places for which you propose them. Happily, rank can add little to the energy of patriots; and you are, even now at liberty to employ those who have deserved your confidence,—according as you can make their abilities serviceable to the republic.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER

LETTER XXV.

From Pache Minister at War, to Dumourier.

Paris, December, 3d. 1792,—first year of the Republic.

I ANSWER here to the article of *Subsistence* in your letter of the 30th. I am surpris'd, that you have as yet, seen no person belonging to the Committee for Purchases; since I dispatched Simon Pick from Paris, on the 11th of November, with orders to see you, and to furnish to the army under your command, whatever you should require.

At the demand of Doumerc and Company, on the 1st of December, I gave orders to the Committee for Purchases to deliver to Doumerc, from Brussels and Ghent, 20 thousand bags of grain, and as much meal as he should need, 20,000 bags of oats, 15,000 quintals of hay and an equal quantity of straw. And, as the Committee had all articles of provision necessary, a courier was dispatched by Doumerc from Paris, on the afternoon of the 1st of this month, to direct the execution of the orders I had given. There is therefore abundance of grain, meal, and forage in the hands of the former Agency, who have still the care of distributing subsistence to the army under your command.

Beside

reinforcements which he has received, he is still so weak in cavalry, that I should be uneasy as to his situation, were it not that the orders which you have given to Miranda, and still more my knowledge of your character, make me foresee your orders to Valence, and your whole system of operations.

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(Signed)

PACHE.

LETTER.

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Beside

Beside this quantity,—the Committee have also 65,000 bags of grain and flour distributed in the following places ; In

Brussels	- - -	20,000 bags,
Ghent	- - -	20,000,
Bruges	- - -	10,000,
Ostend	- - -	10,000,
Louvain	- - -	5,000,

and forage in proportion ; of which you may dispose,—demanding them from Simon Pick, whom I again order either to join you at Liege, or to send some person who may receive and execute your orders for furnishing provisions to the army.

You demand two magazines, one at Liege, the other at Ruremonde. The Committee for Purchases have this moment, given orders to Liepmann Cerf-Bar, to purchase for the magazine at Liege, 20,000 bags of grain and meal, 20,000 bags of oats, 20,000 quintals of hay, and an equal quantity of straw. He hopes to be able, within eight days, to procure half these quantities. You may, in the mean time, be supplied from the magazines at Brussels.

Orders are this day, given for purchases, in consequence of which the Committee promise within ten days after news shall have been received, of the capture of Ruremonde, to furnish a magazine, in
that.

that city, of 20,000 bags of grain, and other things in proportion.

Should these quantities prove insufficient; write—and I will instantly augment them. As it is my business to use every means for the adequate supply of subsistence to the French armies; I am to demand eight new magazines, beside those which you request, to be established in the towns of Brussels, Ghent, Ostend, Bruges, Tournay, Namur, Tirlemont, and Louvain. The Committee will collect and accumulate all things necessary to the victorious Army under your command.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER XXVI.

From Pache Minister at War, to Dumourier.

Paris, Dec. 3. 1792.—First year of the French Republic.

I GIVE a separate answer to each article of your letter of the 30th of November. I now reply to what you say concerning the passing of contracts by the commissaries at war, and concerning your wants in the article of clothing.

The following are my principles.

As long as I am responsible, no contract shall be entered into, without my previous knowledge of it: Otherwise, how should I be responsible for it?

Whenever

Whenever a Commissary at War, or any other Agent of the Republic, submits to my consideration, the terms of a contract, I shall readily accept of it,—if the supply be wanted, and if, *ceteris paribus*, more advantageous terms cannot be obtained. It follows, that Citizen Ronfin, or any person else, may contract for supplies to the army, provided they submit the terms to my consideration, that I may duly examine, before authorizing them*.

You demand caps, blankets, shoes, woollen stockings, &c. and this without specification of quantities; so that it is impossible for me to know whether what I have sent, be sufficient, or whether I must send additional quantities. Since my entrance into the ministry, I have received from you, no statement of the situation of your army in respect to articles of equipment.

To induce you to give me that precise information upon this head, which I have not yet been able to obtain; I send you a statement of what I have sent,—and of the demands which have been made upon me.

You requested 60,000 Great coats for the army under your command. 48,000 have been sent to Valenciennes; 13,000 to Givet; and other 18,000 are ordered to be instantly sent to you.

I shall

* Malus did no more; yet was denounced, had a decree passed against him, and was imprisoned for what he did.

I shall observe, in respect to the great coats, that I have been surprized that Citizen Malus could leave 20,000 coats to accumulate uselessly in the magazine at Valenciennes, as appears from a statement of the condition of that magazine dated on the 11th of November, without forwarding them to the army. It is not unlikely that other familiar acts of negligence may have occasioned the principal inconveniencies which the army has suffered through want of supplies. You will agree with me, that the Agents by whom such inconveniencies are produced, whether, through negligence or otherwise, are extremely culpable. I must therefore request your assistance for the prevention of such abuses, in future; which are so much the more worthy of reprehension, because, in this instance, while the coats remained in the magazine, the carts and waggons were constantly passing to and from the army, with other articles of burthen, less immediately useful.

I promise you to send hence for your army, other 20,000 of these great coats within twelve days; and I do not think that any contract, however expensive, could procure them sooner.

Only 8000 blankets have been asked from me, 4400 were dispatched from Paris by post, on the 8th of November: 4600 were sent from Dunkirk,

on the 17th of the same month : and on the 26th, 15,100 more, were also sent from Dunkirk ; which makes 6180 more than the number wanted. If this quantity, however, be still insufficient ; write me what number above it, you may need ; and I shall give immediate and punctual orders, that they be sent to you.

The article of *Shoes* is what we can the least readily furnish. But, that you may want nothing, orders have been given for the purchase of 400,000 pairs of shoes, at Liege, Namur and through the country in which you now are. The Commissary-Comptroller has orders to superintend this transaction, and to take up from the purchases, what may be wanted for the use of the army in Belgium. Only,—I must request you to keep this matter secret, lest if it were known, the price of shoes might be raised against us.

I know not how many pairs of spatterdashies you may want ; for, no specific demand has yet been made. I have given orders to those who are employed to furnish clothes for the army, to send off instantly 20,000 pairs. As these may not reach the army soon enough ; I have given orders to your Commissary-Comptroller to procure a supply in the mean time, such as may serve you, till you shall receive those sent from hence. I must observe, that

that supplies should always be asked before the moment when they are absolutely and immediately needed.

I know not, General, what quantity of woollen stockings you want; let me know,—and they shall be instantly sent. Already have been sent from Paris 53,156 pairs; there were also, on the 11th of November 22,736 pairs in the magazine at Valenciennes; and the officers who are employed to supply the army with clothes,—have orders for 30,000 pairs more, to be sent off. I shall give orders for their being sent without delay. A part shall be sent to-morrow.

You must know also that there are in the magazines at Valenciennes, 16,304 ells of stuff for breeches to the soldiers, which you may command, at your pleasure, for the use of your army.

PACHE, *Minister at War.*

LETTER XXIV.

From General Dumourier, to Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Liege, Dec. 7, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

I BELIEVE you to be an honest man, Citizen-Minister, nor do I impute to you the extreme mi-

fery to which this excellent army of the Republic has been reduced. But, I must say, that I think you inexcusable for suffering yourself to be imposed upon by the false statements, which you have sent me by the courier Lanquet. The Commissaries of the National Convention are here. They give an account of what they see, and of the orders they are obliged to give for several bargains; in which they take a great deal upon themselves; the Convention not having given them adequate powers,—as not thinking the evil to be so great as it has been found.

You tell me, that you will allow no contracts to be made, unless the conditions have been first examined by yourself: Consequently, now when I am at the distance of an hundred leagues from you, and about to be still farther; I must send you an account of all bargains proposed for the service of my army, and must wait till you refuse or accept them. I have been minister, as well as you, and can assure you that you are mistaken as to responsibility. One proof, that you are not to be made responsible for contracts, is, that you have broken all those made in Belgium, without examining whether their terms were advantageous, or disadvantageous. Another proof is, that to quit yourself of responsibility, you have agreed to the most villainous of measures;

sures; the institution of a committee for purchases, intended to engross the whole business of supplying the armies. The avarice of these monopolists has led them to make use of you, in order to break contracts which have been renewed, for no other reason, than because the army was dying of hunger. As to the articles of dress, equipment, &c. your bargains are still worse. I have *very good* shoes made at Liege, for 3 livres and 15 sous. You send me *very bad* shoes, which cost you 7 or 8 livres a pair. Your hoods cost from fifty to sixty livres, but being made of too fine cloth, never last two months: Citizen Malus, on whose shoulders your Officers throw the blame of all their own faults, would have found here a stronger and warmer stuff, of which the hoods might have been made at five and twenty, or thirty livres each. You tell me that you are sending from Paris, an hundred and thirty thousand pairs of woollen stockings. It should seem, by your preparations, that the French army have entered a desert country in which are neither shoe-makers, cloth-merchants, nor stocking-makers. I know you to be very desirous to furnish sufficient supplies of necessaries to the army under my command, and on this score I do you justice. But,—you have people about you, who strive only

to turn your zeal in the duties of your office to their own private profit.

I repeat what I have already told you, that not only might we deal to greater advantage with the rich merchants of Belgium, than with the speculating adventurers of Paris,—but should we even purchase on more disadvantageous terms from the former,—still it would be wisdom in us, to attach them to the revolution by the tie of interest. We should also have a gain by the voluntary circulation of assignats. I therefore declare to you, Citizen-minister, that I will pursue the Austrians and the French monopolists with the same determined resentment. I will not be the Attila, or the scourge of Belgium. Either the committee of Purchases or I must lose the battle; for I see that upon it depends the fate of these fine provinces which I have delivered from slavery, only to subject them to the yoke of a hated monopoly.

I have one word more to say to you on the subject of your letter of the 24th. Neither you, nor your committee of Purchases have calculated, what was necessary for the subsistence of the army, at the time when you proposed to carry away three hundred thousand out of five hundred thousand bags of grain, which, you say, the committee of Purchases have secured in this country. You tell
me,

me, that there will remain two hundred thousand bags for the use of this army.

Know, Citizen-minister, that your estimate cannot be tolerably correct, unless you reckon to each man a bag in the month. After all the desertions occasioned by the evil measures of your offices, I have still 60,000 men. A fourth goes to the support of the followers of the army. 75,000 bags are therefore wanted for this month, and as much for every one of the following months; besides, you may reckon upon my raising, before Spring, 40 or 50 thousand men in Belgium and Liege; and you may calculate 150 thousand bags in the month, as the quantity of grain which will then be wanted. It should seem, that your terrible committee for Purchases desire no more than to see us destitute of all resource, that they may then send us back in meal from Montmartre, the grain which they have previously exported out of Belgium. Consider, what an increase of expence, must be occasioned, and to what an uncertainty in respect to the means of subsistence we must be reduced—by this infamous monopoly! I am persuaded, Citizen-minister, that you are too honest a man, not to be induced by this faithful representation of circumstances, to renounce the false principle upon which the combination for Purchases has been established. I shall
add,

add, that, as a *Statesman*, you cannot but know, that what is good for France, (and I am far from thinking monopoly good for any country, or in any circumstance,) may not answer equally for a foreign country.

When I proposed, that I alone, by the ministration of my commissary-comptroller, should be empowered to negotiate all necessary contracts; it was not because I had any view to private profit from such contracts; as any person who shall have the impudence to charge me with such a desire, may be convinced, by an examination of those contracts which I passed: But, I wished that neither money, nor supplies of any kind should be exported for our use, out of France; since the seat of the war was a country of the greatest plenty and opulence; I wished to interest the people of the country in the revolution, by the motive of private gain to themselves; I wished, since it must be told, that the whole war might cost France nothing; since it would be easy for me, in accounting with the two nations, to annul the debt in a way in which both French and Belgians might be satisfied. This I explained to the Ministers Claviere and Rolland before I left Paris; and if they have not acquainted you with it; they have done wrong.

You

You have disconcerted all my measures by an injudicious parsimony, by a pitiful niggardliness, from which the nation must, in the end suffer, and which will perhaps prove the ruin of you and your offices. When I declared war against you,—it was not against yourself personally; but you have lent your name to guilty men who have reduced the army under my command to the most distressful extremities. You have exhibited *false statements* to the National Convention, and to my *Friends*. You have justified yourself on paper, because paper bears any thing. Bethink yourself ere it be absolutely too late; otherwise you make yourself responsible for our loss of time, and for the ruin of a victorious army.

I have yet a stronger imputation to lay against you, of which I know not how you will be able to clear yourself. It is in respect to the direction of the Armies.—Your colleague Rolland was against my having the conduct of the war. He wrote me so himself; and I have his letter in my possession.—You wrote for my advice relative to the plans of Custine; I sent it you: You wrote, in return, that it had your approbation: And yet, by your orders to Beurnonville, and by your last letters to myself, it should seem that you have adopted a plan directly opposite to mine. Frankfort has been taken by the Germans, by assault,—I hear; whether this
news

news be true or false, it is at least certain, that Cus-
tine is in difficulties. Le Brun writes me, of the
30th date, that he is very uneasy about him. It
is certain, that the enormous error of not taking
Coblentz, may cost us all our past success in the
war; as there is now no point for the combination
of the army of Alsace and that of Belgium; and
because the enemy, being masters of Luxemburgh,
and of the course of the Moselle, from its conflu-
ence—to Thionville, may either in a body, or in
separate detachments, attack the flanks of my ar-
my, by the way of the Meuse,—or the departments
into which they formerly carried the war, and which
I by a wonderful fortune saved,—or what was for-
merly called the Bishopricks and Lorraine.

For these things, Citizen-minister, I have as just
reason to blame you, as for the disorganization of
the army in Belgium. You will answer, that you
are not a military man; but this excuse cannot a-
vail you; you should either not have asked my ad-
vice, or have followed it. You and your colleagues
have committed an irreparable error. I know
the virtue of Citizen Rolland. When you read to
him my letter, in the Council, he will then be sen-
sible, what harm has been done to the Republic,
by his narrow suspicions of a victorious general,
and his pretended austerity in respect to my morals.

Neither.

Neither such pitiful virtues as he prizes, nor those mean suspicions which he indulges,---are fit engines for conducting the public affairs of a great nation. All those precautions which have been employed against me, were sufficiently proper in dealing with such a paltry ambitious intriguer, as La Fayette. But, distinctions are to be made between the characters of different men; and circumstances are to be considered. I complain that, in the present instance, this has not been done; yet, not on my account, but, because the consequences have been dangerous and unfortunate to the Commonwealth.

I write, without peevishness, without any pique against you personally, but with all that indignation which a true republican ought to feel at seeing the alarming situation to which you have reduced the armies of the Republic, and by consequence, the whole nation. I send no copy of this letter to the National Convention. But, if you persist in representing me as a soldier surrounded with rascals, or a rascal himself; I declare that I will print my letters, ---without mutilation or alteration, such as is made on those copies of them, which are printed in public papers, stamped with the National seal, namely, the *Gazette of France*. the *Journal of the Debates*, and the *Budget of the National Convention*.

Sacrifice

Sacrifice three or four impudent and worthless Clerks belonging to your offices, who, on pretence of manly freedom of spirit, vomit out in a tone of brutality, the basest calumnies and falsehoods. Sacrifice your Committee for Purchases which will at last ruin yourself, and which, whatever you may say of it, is inevitably ruinous. I will then acknowledge you to be a truly good man; and your errors not to have originated with yourself.

LETTER XXVII.

From Pache Minister at War, to Dumourier.

Paris, Dec. 5, 1792. First year of the French Republic.

GENERAL,

YOUR letter of the 2d instant, shews you to be egregiously mistaken in respect to the simplest facts,---and lets me see the motives of your opposition to the transactions of the Board of Purchases in Belgium. You call them a *Company of Monopolists*; and pains have been taken to represent them in this light to the People of Belgium. I thought, that my letter of the 11th, acquainting you with the reasons, in consideration of which this Board was instituted, might have made you judge of them more correctly. Monopolists buy, to sell again; the

the Board buy only for the immediate supply of the republic. The Board are solely and specially charged with all purchases of articles of subsistence needed by the armies, by the navy, or in the great towns. The ministers of the three Departments agreed in this design, in order to put an end to that competition of their different Agents, which exposed the nation to buy at an advanced price, and left each of the three Departments liable to be in want, while the others had more than enough. The purchases made by the Board in the Department of the North, compared with the contracts of Comptroller Malus, shew clearly the advantage of the Board's transactions, to the public treasury. They who have an interest in those contracts, are also concerned to mislead public opinion in respect to this establishment. I am surprized and grieved, that you yourself, General, should have been imposed upon by such calumnies, which derive new authority from being adopted by you.

You express surprise, "that I should have determined upon sending meal and flour from France, at a great expence, rather than abide by the contracts which had been made to secure supplies Thus, say you, may an exclusive company make vast profits, by carrying grain from North to South, and bringing it back from South to North again."

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The Company of whom you here complain, is that under the direction of Doumerc, whom you have desired to maintain in office, not the Board for Purchases. The Agents for furnishing subsistence to the Army, have been continued in employment, and intrusted with the care of carrying and distributing the commodities bought by the Committee of Purchases. Of the truth of this assertion, you may be convinced by inspecting the subjoined copy of a statement which I have obtained from them, of the quantities of grain and flour which I know them to have carried from Paris, since the 1st of November, to places in the Department of the North, and in Belgium. For these carriages they received no orders from others.

Money has been withheld from the Agency for provisions and forage,—an act of which you complain,—only in obedience to the decree of the Convention passed on the 19th of September last. It is my duty to execute the Law, and at the same time to take measures for securing adequate supplies to the armies. I have therefore agreed with the Agency for Provision, under the direction of Doumerc, that all sums necessary for the purposes of their Agency, shall be received, upon the order of a Commissary at war, from the Paymasters-general of the National Treasury, either at the armies, or
in

in the towns where these paymasters may be stationed. I have likewise determined, that, for current expences, certain sums, shall be intrusted to the four principal members of the Agency, for which they shall be accountable, once a month. The Agency have not yet communicated to me a statement of their wants. You see, then, that I have not obeyed the decree for withholding the money formerly issued to the Agency, without taking measures at the same time, to prevent the service from suffering by it.

I sent an answer, on the 3d of this month, to your request of provisions and forage. You must, by this time, have received my letters, and may now be easy as to the supply of provisions to your army.

PACHE, *Minister at War.*

P. S. I transmit to the National Treasury, an extract of that part of your letter, in which it is concerned; desiring that you may be furnished with all sums necessary for the use of the army.

INFORMATION required by the letter of the Minister at War, of the evening of the 3d of December,—stating the quantities of grain, raw or ground, which, have been conveyed, between the 1st of November and the 3d of December,—from the

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magazines

magazines at Pontoise, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, to magazines, at the places afternamed, in Belgium, in the Department of the North, or on the way thither.

PLACES OR MAGAZINES.		Number of Quintals. Grain and Flour.	Total.
From which.	To which sent.		
Pontoise.	Valenciennes	- - 416 Cwt.	12,564
	Lille	- - - 1200	
	Noyon	- - - 6200	
	Compiègne	- - - 1000	
Alfort and Corbeil.	Valenciennes	- * 4310	5,510
	Compeigne	- - 1200	
Saint-Dennis †.			
			18,074

* Of this 4310 Cwt. sent to Valenciennes, 90 were detained at Mons, and 62 at Maubège, by the keeper of the magazine of the former of these places.

† There has been no Grain sent from St Dennis to the North since the 1st of November.

General Observation.

THESE provisions were intended to supply the magazines for the use of the army of the North,—in order to the maintenance of the troops daily repairing thither, to augment the army.

Paris, Dec. 4, 1792, first year of the Republic: 11 in the morning.
(Signed) MONMERQUE, RAUCIMVILLE, DOUMERC,
DESROCHERS, Agents for Provisions to the Army.

A true copy. PACHE.

LETTER XXV.

To Pache, Minister at War.

December 8, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I TRANSMIT, Citizen-minister, to the Commissaries of the National Convention, your letter of the 5th of December, containing your decision respecting Colonels Ocomorgan and Laroque. The Citizens Commissaries being on the spot, will be able to satisfy the Convention concerning the degree of credit which may be due to my remonstrance.

In your decision concerning Colonel Lagrange, you seem to think, that I have fallen into a piece of self-contradiction; because the paper of minister Servan, dated on the 12th of October, bears, that this disposition was made at my request. If such a request there be,—it must be expressed in a letter; produce the letter; and I shall then acknowledge myself to have done wrong in making the request. But, I must still insist on the justice of my remonstrance; and on the discouragement which your arrangement would produce in the army. I shall add, as to the sixth regiment of hussars, that Colonel Lagrange has formally declined his appointment, in favour of Citizen Kilmaine, and must, consequently remain at the head of the sixth regiment.

of dragoons; and that Citizen Tilly, for his part, agrees to this arrangement, on condition, that, without injury to his own advancement, he may serve as Colonel aide-de-camp supernumerary---to me, without appointments. Nothing can be easier settled.

The adjunct to the staff, who was formerly a dancer in the company of Nicolet, is named Moras. I know not, what other claims he may have produced. You will act in respect to him, as you shall think best.

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LETTER XXVI.

To Pache, Minister at War.

Dec. 8, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

MY former dispatches, Citizen-minister, particularly that of yesterday, leave me nothing to add, in order to prove that you, not I, are in an error concerning the committee for Purchases. Besides, that committee appears to go beyond the original intention of its institution, when its cares—and management are extended to forage, and, no doubt, to many things else. It is the business of Commissary Malus to defend his own contracts; and I should think, he may easily prove, that although dearer at the first

first purchase, they proved cheaper by the *goodness of the commodities*. Here lies the great secret of engrossers.

As to the agency under the direction of Doumerc, which you consider me as regretting,—I must allow that they served the army very well within France. But, if you had read my letters with sufficient attention, you would have perceived, that, without wishing to derange their direction or administration, I was however of opinion, that good policy required the contracts to be made in the very country in which the provisions were to be used,—and not by a French company. I have explained myself on this head at sufficient length, to be perfectly understood.

If the Doumerc agency have executed the transference and distribution of commodities bought by the committee; they must first have received your orders. Whatever therefore may be to be disproved, cannot fall upon them. Besides, in the paper which you have sent me, I see only one convoy sent into the departments of the Oise, of the North, and of the Aisne, which have nothing in common with Belgium.

As to the suppression of the agency-money-chests; possibly you may not have literally obeyed the decree of the 19th of September; yet the agencies

cies are rendered incapable of the due discharge of their functions, in consequence of being forbidden by you, to make use of the money in their hands.

Let us leave this petty skirmishing, and come to matters of fact. You have adopted a new system for purchases, which I have more reason, than any one else, to think impolitic. You have destroyed all the activity of this system, and have prohibited the Commissary-comptroller sent to me, from negotiating any contracts. Your Board for Purchases, or rather *Company of Buyers*, are not to deliver, and make no preparations to deliver, before the first of January. You have made no provision for the interval of nearly two months, intervening between the termination of the Old and the commencement of the New system of agency. The army are perishing for hunger and cannot advance.

You tell me, that you made answer on the 3d, to my demands for victuals and forage; that I must have received your letters; and that I must be, by this time, easy on the score of provisions to the army under my command. The report of the commissaries will best satisfy you, as to these things.

At last, on the evening of yesterday, December 7th, an Agent from the National Treasury, arrived here. He brings 500,000 livres, and says that the
national

national treasury has already disbursed 6,000,000 for the service of the armies in the North. Of this it is the duty of the Commissaries to satisfy themselves. I know, that I had not a sol yesterday morning.

LETTER XXVIII.

From the Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Dec. 6, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I HAVE communicated, General, to the Executive Council, your dispatch of the 30th of November; and have been by them directed to transmit to you, the result of their deliberations.

When the provisional executive council determined that the Armies of the Republic should not lay down their arms, till after repulsing our enemies beyond the Rhine, their first object was, to remove the war out of the French territories, to protect these by a barrier so secure as the Rhine, and thus to form a sort of fortified frontier between the free members and allies of the French Republic,—and those whom the princes of Germany may arm against us.

These

These considerations have not been weakened by any thing that has since ensued.

The Prussian army has suffered a great deal, but is not completely destroyed.

The king of Prussia is not detached from his Ally; nor has he returned to Berlin. He has drawn reinforcements from the heart of his dominions; and a Prussian army, already more numerous than that of the Republic, and daily augmented, appears in the vicinity of Coblentz and Mentz.

The Austrians, although routed, and greatly reduced in Belgium, yet not absolutely ruined, have forces on the Rhine, equal to any which Biron has, to oppose to them. On the Moselle, they are equal to Beurnonville, and may be, at any time reinforced by the Prussians. For the Prussians are so greatly superior to Custine, as to be, at any time able to drive him back over the Rhine,—to break down, in the spite of him the bridge of Mentz,—and to assist the Austrians in the defence of the Moselle. Above Mentz, the Germans are in possession of Mannheim,—under Coblentz, they have Ehrenbreintein and all the lower Rhine, by which they are abundantly supplied with provisions.

If the army in Belgium, therefore, should proceed against Holland, and not cross the Meuse; the Austrians will be able to fall upon Beurnonville, and

and oblige him to abandon entirely the banks of the Moselle. They may then join the Prussians, and force Custine to abandon Mentz; upon which they will either bombard or besiege that place: And contrary to the expectations of all France; the next campaign must be opened upon our own frontiers.

To enlarge the line of our frontier to an extent so immense, would prove favourable to our enemies.

It is not the business of the Minister at war, to enter into considerations of a different nature.

For these reasons, General, the Council have resolved to abide by their former determination. They have decided, that, as a measure of urgent necessity, which must precede your proposed expedition into Holland,---you shall direct the three columns of the army under your command, to act in such a manner, as you shall judge the most proper to expel the Austrians out of the country, lying between the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine; and that you particularly direct the column acting on your right, to support the operations of Beurnonville on the Moselle, which he daily calls for.

I learn that the Prussians have but little force in the duchies of Gueldre and Juliers.

(Signed) PACHE.

LETTER

LETTER XXVII.

From Dumourier to Citizen Pache.

December 8, 1792.—First year of the Republic,

YOUR dispatch of the 6th, Citizen-minister communicates a decision of the Executive Power, of consequences so important and unpromising, that I cannot think of its execution, without shuddering at the dangers which attend it,—and without using all means to save myself from being responsible for them, by requiring, as a preliminary condition, that a Council of war be held, consisting of experienced generals, such as Kellermann, Berruyer, and others, to examine, on the one hand, your dispatch, and on the other, what I have to say against the execution of it. The safety of the republic, and the ruin or preservation of our armies are directly, and immediately concerned in the question. No human concern, then, shall check me from declaring my mind. Besides, your dispatch contains the decision of a council of six ministers: but is not formal: and I have a right to discuss it, before I undertake its execution.

Besides, although I were willing blindly to obey the decision of the Council,—I could not yet, for some days, on account of the miserable state to which
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the army has been reduced, and our total want of means for subsistence. The commissaries of the National Convention are so sensible of the impossibility of my executing what you command, for want of provisions,—the only concern belonging to them, or in which they intermeddle,—that they have determined to send their President, Citizen Camus, to explain to the Convention, the circumstances of distress in which they see the army. After undeceiving the Convention, he is to receive their orders, and procure all decrees necessary to prevent the entire ruin of this army, which is fast ensuing from the unhappy operations of your Offices. It is truly fortunate, that the National Convention have wisely sent Commissaries, to judge between the contradictory assertions made by you and me. For, you have still produced statements which shewed as if we had abundance of every thing; while I have as constantly remonstrated, that we were in absolute want.

Citizen Camus will be accompanied by General Thowenot, who is at the head of my Staff-Officers; and who has orders from me, to explain to you in detail any particulars which may be too slightly touched upon, in a letter so hastily written, as my present answer to your dispatch.

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THE MINISTER'S DISPATCH.

WHEN the provisional Executive Council determined that the armies of the Republic should not lay down their arms till our enemies should have been repulsed to the other side of the Rhine ; their first object, was to remove the war out of the territories of France,---to protect France by a barrier so secure as the Rhine,---and to form a sort of fortified frontier between those people who are free, and those whom the Princes of Germany may still arm against us.

These considerations have not been weakened by any thing that has since happened.

The Prussian army has suffered greatly, but is not entirely destroyed. The king of Prussia is not detached from his Ally. He has not returned to Berlin. He has drawn reinforcements from the heart of his dominions. A Prussian army, already more numerous than that of the Republic, and daily augmented, has made its appearance in the vicinity of Coblenz and Mentz.

The Austrians, routed and greatly reduced in Belgium, yet not entirely cut off, have forces on the Rhine, equal to any that Biron has, to oppose to them. On the Moselle, they are equal to Beurnonville, and may be reinforced at any time,
by

by the Prussians. The Prussians, being superior to Custine, may at the same time, oblige him to repass the Rhine,—break down the bridge of Mentz,—and assist the Austrians to defend the Moselle.

Above Mentz, the Germans are in possession of Mannheim; under Coblenz, they have Ehrenbreitstein, and all the Lower Rhine, from which they are abundantly supplied with provisions.

It is not the duty of the minister at war to discuss considerations which fall not within his province in the ministry.

These different reasons have determined the Executive Council to adhere to their former determination. They have resolved upon it, as a measure indispensably necessary,—that you shall direct the three columns of the army under your command, in such a manner, as you shall judge, the fittest to drive the Austrians out of the country between the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine; and particularly, that you shall so direct the operations of the column acting on your Right, that they may support Beurnonville on the Moselle which he daily calls for.

ANSWER TO IT.

THEY should then have confined the operations of their armies to the taking of all the fortified

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places

places on this side of the Rhine ; and should especially have ordered Custine to make himself master of Coblentz. He should have been prohibited from crossing the Rhine, proceeding to Frankfort, and advancing into the heart of Germany. He should have been ordered to repass the Rhine speedily. And instead of Beurnonville being ordered to join him, he himself, should have been ordered to join Beurnonville between the Rhine and the Moselle. Their two divisions united, might then, at least have taken Treves ; and with the reinforcements of the army of Biron, and such others as might have been sent to them from the interior Departments,---they might have besieged the Prussians in Coblentz,---a position not at all favourable to an army, that has two rivers at its back, and no recourse for a retreat. We might then have had the Rhine for a barrier,---as the Executive Power say that they projected I am the rather induced to think, Citizen-Minister, that this might have been accomplished ; because, upon being consulted by you, I gave my advice to this purpose, in a letter of the 10th of November ; and you wrote me, in answer, that you were of my mind. I demand that this letter be produced in the Council of war,---as also my letter of the 7th of November, in which I blame
you

you for following a system of war, directly contrary.

The considerations are still the same; But circumstances which I well foresaw, and foretold, now render it impossible for us to make ourselves masters of the course of the Rhine, this campaign. It were folly to attempt it.

An army is not to be mowed down like a meadow. The king of Prussia was willing, to forsake his Ally, and retire to Berlin,---had not we so furiously pursued him beyond the Rhine. His vanity has been offended; and he has sent for reinforcements, to save his army. Had Custine been ordered to repass the Rhine, nothing of all this could have happened; while Custine was proceeding to act against Marburgh,---the Prussians have given him the slip, and have come in great force to Coblantz.

The Austrians have not been entirely cut off in Belgium, because I could not pursue them quickly enough, for want of means for subsistence; by which I lost twenty days,---as is explained in my dispatches of the 7th and 8th of December.

Custine ought not to wait till the Prussians force him to repass the Rhine; but to break down the bridge of Mentz himself,---to throw a sufficient garrison into the town,---and then to join Beurnonville, that they may together take Treves,

and masque Coblentz, if not sufficiently strong, to attack it.

This proves, that we should rather endeavour to take Coblentz, than send Custine, in pursuit of adventures, beyond the Rhine. It proves also, that the only wise part we can take, is, to make Custine save himself by repassing the Rhine as speedily as possible; if it be not already too late. It proves that my army is not to be disorganised;---because I might have *had* time entirely to disperse the Austrian army; to march along the left bank of the Rhine, by Cologne, Bonn, and Coblentz; to cut off the communication between the Duchy of Luxemburgh and Germany; to relieve Beurnonville, and save Custine. It proved that the failure of the campaign is owing to the disregard of my plan. * *

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When the Minister at war takes upon him, to transmit the result of the deliberations of the Executive Council, upon a plan proposed by me, and explained in every different point of view: It is then his duty to explain to me, every different consideration that concurred in directing the decision.

The former determination of the Council, to which it still adheres, was, to possess ourselves of the whole banks of the Rhine, and to make it the
boundary

boundary of our offensive operations. The pressing measure, therefore, is, to take Coblentz.

As to driving the Austrians out of the country between the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine; this is impossible; for it would then be necessary to take Luxemburgh, the strongest fortified place in Europe; near which is an army which you yourself have said to be stronger than that of General Beurnonville. And can you, on the 6th of December, after reducing my army to that distress which will be represented to you, by Citizen Camus, propose to me, such a wild enterprize? View the map from the frontier of Holland, to the confluence of the Moselle! What an extent of country is it, you require me to traverse with an army, ill-clad, ill-fed, without magazines, and without any means for conveying the heavy artillery necessary to the siege, first of Cleves, and then of Luxemburgh, with an army never more than 60,000 men, now reduced to 30, or at the most 40,000! When I shall have put garrisons in these different places, in a country in which provisions are scarce, carriages not to be had in this season of the year; I must then carry every thing along with me, without having it in my power to establish magazines, without rivers or canals to facilitate conveyance; dragging along a heavy artillery, not to be moved by fewer

fewer than 8000 horses; advancing to meet enemies more numerous than we, and posted in the forests, and on the hills; unable to march farther than two or three leagues in the day; having before me the prospect of perishing for hunger, and and being left perhaps, with my army at the discretion of the enemy and the peasants; without any outlet for retreat, in the case of misfortune, except through the dreadful defiles of the Ardennes; abandoning Belgium, and losing all the fruits of a glorious campaign,—and an army which, against another campaign, the republic will not easily replace.

The case would be still worse, if I should divide my army, and send Valence alone to attack Luxemburg, while it is defended by a greater number of troops, than he has under his command!

No, Citizen-minister, I will not undertake the execution of a plan so ruinous to the republic. I should think myself highly culpable, were I to hesitate between acquainting you with its dangers, and attempting its accomplishment. * * * *

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Above all, Citizen-minister, I declare to you, that the troops, after what they have suffered, are absolutely dispirited, and their distress has dissolved all discipline. Want of provisions alone, and the
general

general confusion prevalent through all parts of the Agency, render it impossible for us to remain longer in our tents. If the army be not instantly cantoned, it will, within fifteen days, cease to be an army. Let the soldiers rest for a month in their cantonments: send me back Commissary-comptroller Malus, who fully merits my confidence: Let all articles of subsistence to the army be secured by an arrangement at once certain for us, and so advantageous to the People of the Country, as to interest them in the revolution, and in our success: Let Belgium be so organized, that it may furnish me with a corps of at least twenty thousand infantry: Give me my own terms as to the political arrangements of these countries, and as to all matters respecting my army:—I will, then, after a month or six weeks rest, even in the midst of frosts and snows, prosecute any reasonable plan. The errors which have been committed, shall be repaired; but not by impossible projects, which would require to their execution—at least six months of time,—an army twice as great as mine,—magazines previously established upon all our frontiers,—and a great deal of money. But, money thus employed, would be egregiously mispent; for, it were folly, to undertake the siege of Luxemburgh, in any season, before mastering the course of the Rhine, in order.

order to reduce it by famine, and deprive it of all possibility of relief. * * * *

* * * *

I owe to my country, the representation of the truth. I protest against the decree of the Council, as wild and chimerical. If the Council still persist in their opinion, they cannot think of employing me in the execution of the enterprize. I am far from designing to sacrifice either Beurnonville or Custine. Their dangers will be at an end, as soon as they shall have effected a junction with one another between the Rhine and the Moselle. * *

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Letter from Dumourier to the Commissaries of the National Convention.

Dec. 10, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

DAY after day, Citizens-commissaries, you yourselves behold my army melt away. I cannot express the guilt of those men, who, under the feigned pretext of œconomy, broke those contracts which you have found it necessary to renew, and by which alone, we are scantily subsisted from day to day. An expence of many millions will hardly repair the damage which has been done. I send you,

you, subjoined, a note which I have received concerning the horses for the carriage of the heavy artillery; and with it, a letter from Commissary Lambert. You have not thought proper to take upon you, to authorize the Commissary-comptroller, to pay in ready money, the bills of delivery upon the contract of Ketin. That contract becomes, of consequence, illusory and void. No better proof can be asked, to shew, that the contract with Henry Simon was necessary and profitable.

In your decision of yesterday, which you committed to Citizen Camus, to be, by him, communicated to the Convention, you have determined that it ought not to be left to me, to contract for supplies to the army, at my pleasure. In the main sense of this proposition, I agree with you. I have made no contracts, and never should make any, although authorized and ordered so to do, by the National Convention and the Minister. But, I ought not to have been deprived of my commissaries-comptrollers, by false accusations, and in order to favour the tyranny of a committee for Purchases; at a time when those commissaries had employed the wisest and most prudent measures for furnishing the army with the requisite supplies for the continuance of its operations; and when it has been
proved

proved that the Committee have taken no steps whatever, towards the maintenance of the army.

I demand justice upon the crime which they have committed against the Nation,—by reducing this unfortunate army to a condition more miserable than if we had been continually defeated; and by depriving us, through an infamous monopolizing system, of the immense resources of all forts, which Belgium might have afforded.

Each day, our condition becomes more distressful. What shall I do with my heavy artillery? Who will find me horses? What shall I do with the army itself, without straw, tents,—(except such as are torn and tattered) coats, breeches, or shoes, for present use? Think you, that I can command the soldiers to march? Or, am I not sufficiently authorized by circumstances, to place them in cantonments, till I shall receive supplies of all sorts, and orders either directly from the National Convention,—or from the Executive Power, after it shall have been cleared of that vermin in the Public Offices, by whom it is deceived,---and of that Board of Purchases, by which it has been misled into errors highly criminal?

Consider my letter, Citizens-commissaries, and give me an answer in writing. It is, as I think, impossible, that we should remain long in doubt concerning

concerning the military arrangements now proper for me to make. Eight days must pass before we can have news from Citizens Camus and Thowenot. Eight days hence, these measures may be perhaps too late; our ills may be then at their height. The whole army, as well as I, have hopes in the wisdom and prudence of the National Convention. Being on the spot, it is your duty, not merely to enquire into circumstances; but to do what the National Convention would itself do,—if near us, ---and if it could give its orders with sufficient promptitude, to supply our wants, and to restore the Agency which has been dissolved by the Minister at war. His Offices, and the committee of Purchases have indeed misled him to issue the most absurd and criminal orders. The former supplies of the army have been withheld since the middle of November; but, we are to receive no supplies from the Committee of Purchases, till the first of January next.

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Letter

*Letter from General Dumourier, to the President of the
National Convention.*

Liege, Dec. 11, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

CITIZEN-PRESIDENT,

THE arrival of Citizens Camus and Thewenot, with the papers which they would produce, must have satisfied the National Convention of the justice of my complaints. In the letter which I had the honour to write to you, on the 30th of November; I informed the Convention, that if they should find that Citizen Malus had done wrong in negotiating certain contracts; the fault was mine, because I had given him orders so to do.

I learn that after hearing the defence of Citizens Malus and d'Espagnac, a mistaken use was made of my letter of the 2d of December; which, as it proved the wants of the army, and the dishonest practices of those by whom it has been reduced to its present distress, proved also the necessity there was for negotiating the contracts in question.

At present, I demand that I may share the fate of those agents who acted only in obedience to me. Since their being condemned or put under arrest, is an indirect accusation against me; I demand
leave

leave to present myself at your bar, as the defender of Malus.

I should think, that, in justice, this request cannot but be granted: unless, after the examination of the papers communicated by Citizen Camus, the Convention shall think it more for the service of the Republic, to restore to me a Commissary-general of spotless integrity, whose arrestment has suspended the functions of the whole Agency, and has been more ruinous to the army, than the loss of a battle.

It is high time, that this state of things should cease. It is vexatious to reflect, that a campaign so advantageous to my country, has been disconcerted by a base process, in which one of the parties exhibits nothing but *false statements*, to conceal plans of monopoly, the existence of which is evinced by a variety of papers already before you: while the other party is an army languishing after victory, and falling the victim of monopoly and miserable parsimony.

LETTERS BETWEEN
LETTER XXVIII.

From Dumourier to the Minister at War.

December 12th, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I TRANSMIT to you, Citizen-Minister, the letter of Citizen Tournier, Colonel of the third regiment of light horse (*chasseurs a cheval*, somewhat different from our light horse.) This brave officer obeying the orders of Colonel Fregeville who commands in those parts, has driven the Austrians from Verviers. The main army of General Valence are on their march to reinforce that right division; His vanguard will be at Limburgh on the 15th: On the 16th or 17th, his whole army will be there. Then, if the enemy persist in defending with obstinacy the posts of Herve and Henry-Chapelle; they will be so opposed on their left, as to run the risk of being defeated.

Two days since Citizen Cerfbere, arrived here, without any letter from you, but, with a letter from the Committee of Purchases, making offer of all their services to myself and to the army. On the 10th December, came this envoy from the committee of Purchases. He brings me, as he says, a great deal of money. I doubt it not, considering that those gentlemen have now accomplished their purpose of dissolving

dissolving the army, and breaking the contracts. Think you, Citizen-minister, that I will retain the command of the army, in order to become an accomplice in delivering up to Jewish avarice, a country into which I had fancied, that I was introducing liberty and equality? You have seen already in my letters of the 7th and 9th, my last resolutions upon this head. The Committee of Purchases who can find means to justify themselves to the National Convention, who have influence to put into arrest,—perhaps to sacrifice a Commissary-general of the most untainted integrity, may find also a general who will be subservient to their views. If you continue to justify the disorder and dissolution of my army, which have been effected,—I make you responsible for the consequences of my resignation, which I delay only, till I shall learn from the decisions upon the journey of Citizens Camus and Thowenot, whether the financial and Jewish faction, supported by your clerks, are to triumph over reason and equity.

You may well suppose, Citizen-minister, that Commissary-comptroller Ronfin, who is not ignorant, that I wish to have Malus again, would apply to the Jew Cerfbere, in hopes of annulling by means of him, the contract with Henry Simon, by which we are now sustained, without which we

could not subsist, and to which the Commissaries have found it necessary to give their sanction. You may well suppose, too, that I will not continue to serve with Citizen Ronfin; a General can do no good, when he cannot have confidence in his Commissary-comptroller. The armies have always suffered by quarrels between the pen and the sword. The same thing now happens again. It is a strong reason with me, since I can do no more good, not to share your responsibility, your errors, or the misfortunes to which they lead.

P. S. I send a copy of this letter to Citizen Camus.

Letter from Dumourier, to Minister Rolland.

Liege, Dec. 15th, 1792. First year of the Republic.

I KNOW not, Citizen-minister, whether there may have been any proclamation published in that part of the country, through which your mercantile traveller passed, declaring, that the inhabitants cannot be forced to accept assignats for their goods. I have issued no proclamation either for, or against assignats. A proclamation in favour of assignats, would have been an act of violence, of which I could not chuse to be the author. Instead of favouring the currency of that paper-money, it would have dis-
obliged

obliged the inhabitants, and injured trade. A proclamation against assignats, would have totally discredited the paper, and would have put an absolute stop to its currency.

I therefore thought that the assignats should be left to find their way by means of the confidence of the People. To fix that confidence, the first thing requisite, was, to conduct ourselves in Belgium, upon principles directly opposite to those which have been adopted, and are now followed. Instead of ruining the armies of the republic, and leaving them to die for famine, for the sake of protecting a base Committee of Purchases, who are no better than a cabal of Engrossers and Jews; we should have contrived to interest in the revolution, the men of capital, and the merchants of Belgium, by employing them to supply all the wants of the army, from money to the slightest articles of habilitment. The currency of the assignats would then have been established of itself; for the merchants and moneyed men being paid only in assignats, would have found it their interest to give this paper-money, all the credit we could desire, and even to bring it up to par, for the augmentation of their own profits. Instead of this, the *monopolizing system* which has been followed since my entrance into Belgium,—a system which I have denounced as impolitic

impolitic and immoral,—a system which renders us odious in a country where we ought to be beloved, —which has cost us more than 15,000 men, stops my successful career, and deprives us of all its fruits: *This system*, I say, will completely ruin us in a foreign country, and will, in the end produce in France, first, tumults on account of grain, then a long series of arrestments, accusations, proscriptions, and massacres; unless those ministers by whom it has been established, shall themselves destroy it, by abolishing your committee for Purchases. It is truly a monopoly, which the people cannot but regard as extremely dangerous; since it takes away freedom of trade in matters necessary to subsistence,—and puts these wholly into the hands of a few individuals by whom they may be abused.

To come to the pretended proclamation against assignats; After this explanation of my ideas concerning freedom of trade, you may well believe, that if any such proclamation have appeared in that part of Belgium through which I have passed, it must be a forgery, unknown to me. But, I declare that I will issue no proclamation, to compel people to accept assignats in payment. If the Council have determined upon this measure,—if they mean to support in a foreign country their committee for Purchases, from whom, a fugitive of Israel has,
three

three days ago, presented himself to me, as their commissioner: I must then request the Executive Council to name a General less steady to his political principles, and more capable of blind, passive obedience, than I. I never will consent to become the scourge of a people, to whom I fancied that I had brought the gift of liberty; and who might have made great progress, by this time, in revolution, if they had not been stopped in their career, by the distrust with which they are naturally inspired, on seeing the condition to which a victorious army is reduced, the grasping avarice of your monopolizers, and the infamous process to which it has led.

POSCRIPT. What, you say, passes at Ypres, in respect to the assignats, and what your merchant represents as a good measure, would be the ruin of them. He says that, at Ypres, all payments are made in assignats, except the difference on the exchange, and the price of silver. Here then is anagio fixed on the assignat, as at Paris, where I have seen 30 per cent. lost on this paper-money.

Ask Clavière, how he should like this? He who writes me that the assignat must be changed at par, and not otherwise. Agree among yourselves, then, citizens, if you would be understood.

LETTER

LETTER XXIX.

From Pache Minister at War, to General Dumourier.

Paris, Dec. 13th, 1792. First year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

I HAVE received your four letters of the 7th and 8th of this month. The President of the commission to the army in Belgium, carries with him several decrees of the National Convention, which he will communicate to you. I shall send you faithful copies of them, as soon as they shall be put into my hands. The mode of payment for the different purchases, will be immediately fixed by the Convention.

The provisional Executive Council have, at two different meetings, at which General Thowenot was present, discussed the plans proposed for the campaign. They have not adopted the project of marching into Holland; but still think it better to post your forces towards the Rhine, that you may repulse the Austrians over that river. Let it be your care, then, General, to refresh and recruit your army; dispose them in such cantonments, that they may be speedily mustered again; and that, as soon as you shall be satisfied with their condition, you may renew your pursuit of the enemies
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of liberty and equality. This, General, is, what the Council expects from your patriotism.

(Signed) PACHE.

P. S. I transmit to you a dispatch from General Custine.

LETTER XXIX.

From Dumourier, to Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Dec. 15th, 1792. First year of the Republic.

IN obedience to your dispatch of the 13th, Citizen-minister, the van-guard of the army which I command, will, to-morrow, enter Aix-la-chapelle, of which Camp-marshal Desfortes, with twelve battalions, will take possession. The rest of our van-guard, will fix their quarters in the districts of Fauquemont, Rolduc, Escheweiler, Saint-Cornelis Munster, &c. The division of the army under General Valence, will pass through those districts, to Cologne. He will there receive your orders. It would have been impossible for him, on account of the roads, and for want of subsistence, to march through Luxemburgh to Arlon,---as seems to be wished upon the plan of General Custine, which appears to be adopted. From Cologne, it will be
easier

easier for Valence to march, as you shall direct him; for he may proceed from Cologne to Bonne, and from Bonne to Andernäch.

General Miranda cantons his troops between Ruremonde and Tongres. When you shall think proper to order the division of Valence to move from Cologne against Bonne, Miranda may, at the same time, muster at Ruremondé, and enter the dutchy of Cleves. That part of the army which is under my immediate command may then advance against Duffeldorff. The division under General d'Harville, which must be reinforced with fresh battalions from France, may then threaten Luxemburgh,---with the more certain effect, if a small body of forces, assembled at Sedan, should threaten the town of Luxemburgh, at the same time.

The movements of the three divisions of the army of Belgium, and of that under Valence, will be made without difficulty,---the enemy having here repassed the Rhine, and there being none of them on its left bank, at least on this side of Cologne.

Having thus obeyed the orders of the Executive Council, I shall communicate, in writing, to the Commissaries of the National Convention, whatever I have to say, respecting myself personally.

LETTER

LETTER XXX.

From Pache, Minister at War, to Dumourier.

Paris, December 14, 1792,—First year of the French Republic.

GENERAL,

IN my letter of the 11th, of November, I introduced to you, Simon Pick, as the agent of the Board for Purchases, commissioned to furnish at your order, provisions of all sorts, to the army under your command. Mosselman is at Brussels, and Perlau at Ostend, for the same services.

I give you notice in my present letter, that in order to give fuller effect to the measures which have been already taken, and to free you from all care and anxiety for the subsistence of the brave soldiers who march with you to victory; the Board for Purchases have joined Liepmann Ben to the Agents who already attend you. He is joined with Mosselmann, in the commission to supply also the wants of the army under the command of General Valence. For the due performance of this service it is necessary that the Purveyors attend the movements of the Armies. It has, therefore, been resolved, that,

1. They shall have a lodging for themselves in such places as they shall fix upon;

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2. A

2. A guard, for the security of their money;
3. Ten ratio's of forage, a day.

These measures dictated by the necessity there is for distinguishing, by a precise line, the functions of the General from those of the Agency, will effectually accomplish the purpose for which they are employed. I have reason to expect, that the soldiers of the republic will not, in future, want what they have a just title to demand from their country.

PACHE, *Minister at War.*

LETTER XXX.

From Dumourier, to Citizen-Pache, Minister at War.

Liege, December 18, 1792,—First year of the Republic.

I WRITE in answer to your letter of the 14th, Citizen-Minister. The taking of Frankfort by the Prussians, and the disgrace of Beurnonville before Treves, from which he writes me that he has been repulsed, have again altered the disposition I had made, to send Valence forward to Cologne, in consequence of the decision of the Council, which you communicate to me.

Take a map, and you will see the present situation of our cantonments, you may then direct the
march

march of the army, upon your own responsibility, as you shall think proper.

General Thowenot said truth, when he informed you, that we were in possession of Marche. The vanguard of General d'Harville's division, is there cantoned. The rest of the army occupy the banks of the Meuse between Huy and Givet.

General Valence's van-guard is cantoned in the districts of Limburgh, Malmedy, and Stavelo. On the one hand, it commands the passages towards Cologne,—on the other, those leading to Luxemburgh. The main army under Valence, lies in a second line, behind his vanguard,---being cantoned, ---the left at Geneppe,---the right at Huy. You may therefore, make them march along the banks of the Rhine, against Bonne, and Andernach,---supposing that the Austrian forces in Luxemburgh are not considerable,---otherwise they will be cut off; Or, you may make them march into Luxemburgh to check the Austrian forces there, and to hinder them from passing the Moselle, and falling upon Beurnonville.

I declare, that I offer neither of these alternatives, as my advice. For, if Valence march by Cologne and Bonne, he will either be obliged to retreat, or will be cut off. If, on the other hand, he should

march into Luxembourg, he must starve, or perhaps suffer a defeat.

Beurnonville's plan, which you mention, for acting in concert, at once, with both Custine and Valence, is truly chimerical. If he join Custine, he must be divided from Valence. Joining Valence, he must abandon the Moselle, return back into France, and march through the Ardennes, into the accursed country of Luxembourg. If the three divisions act separately, they must be routed, one after another.

Were Valence even in Marche, he could not masque Luxembourg; being there twenty long leagues distant from it.

It is clear that the enemy are now assembling a force in Luxembourg, since we have failed to take Coblenz, or Treves. Luxembourg is a point of separation between our operations on the Upper, and those on the Lower Rhine. An hostile army may there act against the flanks of both our army in Belgium, and that on the Moselle, at once.

Should we continue to act upon so wretched a plan, one fault must still be added to another; and this war, after such brilliant success in the beginning, must end unfortunately for us.

It would be difficult, to maintain Mentz, if the Prussians, at present masters of Coblenz and Treves, should

should prosecute their success with vigour. In that case, we might be glad to retire to the other side of La Sarre, and there take cantonments, in which we should be in constant anxiety. As to the Low-Countries,—our keeping possession, or not, of these provinces, depends greatly on the political plan which we shall adopt, and on the prudence and justice of our conduct towards the Belgians.

The minister for foreign affairs, warrants, upon his responsibility, the neutrality of Holland. I, for my part, think, that much will depend on the success of the Germans, upon the Rhine and the Moselle. Weigh all these considerations in your mind; and above all things, make it your business to double the armies of Custine, Beurnonville, and Valence.

LETTER XXXI.

From Dumourier, to Citizen Pache, Minister at War.

Liege, Dec. 18, 1792.—First year of the Republic.

MY health, Citizen-minister, is extremely injured by the fatigues of two very severe campaigns, during which I have no more spared myself than the foldiers,—and by the anxiety with which I have beheld the destitute and miserable condition of my brave companions in arms.

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I must,

I must, of necessity, have some rest and relief from my fatigues, as I am really sick, and my breast is very much affected.

I therefore request your permission for a short time of relaxation. The army are in close cantonments in which they have nothing to fear, as there is no enemy on this side of the Lower Rhine. They will require at least some weeks for refreshment; I shall need an equal time of relaxation. You will see, by my last letters, that I have exactly obeyed your orders. I hope that you will not deny me a request so reasonable, with which the citizens commissaries from the National Convention are also acquainted; and, I beg to communicate it to the National Convention itself. I shall await your answer, at Brussels, where my presence, for some days, is absolutely necessary. I intreat you not to detain the courier Drouet, by whom your answer will be brought to me.

*Letter From Dumourier to the Commissaries of the
National Convention.*

Liege, Dec. 8, 1792. First year of the Republic.

CITIZENS-COMMISSARIES,

GENERAL THOWENOT informed me, upon his return from Paris, that there had been agitated in the military committee, a very important question,

tion, concerning which, there is reason to fear, that the Executive Council may speedily send orders, of which the consequences may prove very vexatious, not less by making us odious in Belgium, which they will deprive of one half of its most useful establishments, than by rendering it impossible for us to repair, and augment our artillery so readily as may be requisite. The artillery has been greatly damaged in our campaign. It needs immediate reparation; and this we cannot undertake, if deprived of a valuable establishment, the particulars of which are correctly detailed in the subjoined memoirs, by Lieutenant-colonel Thowenot.

The matter under consideration is the establishment of the artillery and foundery of Malines. Long before entering Belgium, when I first projected the expedition, I prevailed with the minister for the Navy, to favour me for a time with the services of Lieutenant-colonel Thowenot. This officer was then at the head of the foundery of Indret, near Nantz, where I had discerned his talents and civism. I placed him at the head of the establishment at Malines, which I knew to be a necessary resource for the reparation of our artillery and fire-arms and for the fabrication of cannon and fire-arms, for the army of the Belgians who were to join us, as auxiliaries for the ensuing campaign; and

and who would require to be expeditiously armed in the winter, that they might reinforce us in Spring. It should seem that the project offered to the Committee, in consequence of which I fear that we have new orders from the Minister at war, was, to transfer to Douay the foundery and the establishment for artillery at Malines.

1. This transference would deprive us of the means for that reparation of our artillery which is already begun, and is urgently necessary; for we could not send our artillery, good and bad, from Aix-la-Chapelle and the banks of the Meuse, to Douay, for reparation.

2. This measure would be unjust: for the establishment at Malines, is a manufacture of the country, belonging to the country, of which, after the decree of the 15th of September, we may indeed avail ourselves, but which we cannot destroy, without doing an injury to the country. Besides, it is not at the very moment when we are saying to the Belgians; "Be a sovereign people; we bring you peace, succour, fraternity, liberty and equality; concert with our generals, such measures as may be proper for our common defence;" it is not at this time, that we can destroy an establishment which furnishes a thousand guns in the month, and a cannon, every three days.

3. This

3. This measure would be impolitic. It would alienate from us the hearts of the Belgians, by shewing a distrust in our own strength and their fidelity. Instead of encouraging them to defend their liberty and sovereignty; it would shew, in the case of a retreat, to which we should seem to look forward, we wished to deprive them of an establishment in which they might find arms, for fear of their turning it against ourselves. But by abandoning this unfortunate country to its enemies, we should violate the fifth article of the decree of December, by which we declare, that we will agree to no treaty, nor lay down our arms, till the sovereignty and independence of any people into whose territories the troops of the republic may have entered, shall be fully established,—provided that people shall have adopted the principles of liberty and equality, and organized a free and popular government. This article implies, that we will afford such a people the means of concurring with us for the defence of their liberty and sovereignty. We should injure ourselves, if we were to deprive them of an establishment already existing, which under the direction of our office, may serve both them and us.

4. Even, to consider nothing but œconomy, the abolition of this establishment, which is so indispensibly necessary, would occasion an expence at least

least twice as great, on account, no less of the high price of materials and workmanship at Douay and in our arsenals, than of the tardy progress of the work, the length of the roads, and the enormous expence of carriage.

If in opposition to these considerations should be urged, the danger there would be in the case of our retreat, of leaving an establishment thus advantageous to the enemy; that danger may be easily obviated by destroying the establishment, whenever we shall be forced to withdraw out of the country.

I know that you must be struck, as well as I, with the danger and disadvantages which would result from the destruction of the establishment at Malines. I know, that you have thought of a journey to Malines, in order to obtain sufficient information upon this head. I should have delayed till then my representations against the proposed abolition. But, as the Minister's order may arrive, one of these days; I judged that it would be wrong to delay my present remonstrance. Of the authority of the papers on which it is founded, you can have no doubts; knowing the skill and experience of Lieutenant-colonel Thowenot. These papers I request you to transmit to whomsoever it may be proper, in order to anticipate and stop the fatal injunction

junction of the Minister. The perplexity into which this injunction would throw us,—would be the greater, because I have already given orders, and taken measures for the forwarding of the operations at Malines, necessary to our accommodation, and still more necessary to that of the Belgians.

I intreat you not to lose a minute.

LETTER XXXI.

From Dumourier to Pache-Minister.

Liege, Dec. 21, 1792. First year of the Republic.

CITIZEN-MINISTER,

AS you have sent me but a small number of copies of the decree of the 15th, I am obliged,—in order that I may publish it at once, in Belgium, in Liege, and in the several avenues into the German empire, which are now occupied by the French troops,—to translate and reprint it. I have ordered a very great number of copies to be thrown off, in a form fit for posting up,—in French, Flemish, *Liegeois*, and German. The publication must not be partial, and it must be dispersed every where at once, in order to produce the full effect expected from it.

The

The decree comprizes regulations of *administration* and *finances*, for which I have neither talents, information, time, nor the requisite instruments. Functions purely ministerial, civil, and judicial, cannot at all concern me. My duty is, to proclaim the decree, and to enforce its execution with the armed force under my command. But, I have no Agent sufficiently informed to discharge the functions prescribed in the fourth and fifth articles. All at my disposal, are military men, like myself, unacquainted with the forms to be observed, and even incompetent, by the article of your letter of the 14th, which says ;

“ These measures dictated by the necessity there
“ is for dividing by a precise line, the functions of
“ the General of the army, will fully answer the
“ end for which they have been adopted.”

I therefore transmit to you a copy of my requisition of yesterday to Commissary-comptroller Ronfin, who may communicate it to the different commissaries in all the countries,—and join with them for its execution, civil agents,—either Frenchmen, or persons of the country,—or authorize them to chuse such assignats for themselves.

I was surprized, upon reading the journal of the debates, to find it asserted that I had left the government of Belgium, in the hands of the priests and nobles.

nobles. I sent you officially, at my entrance into the Low-countries the proclamation which I then emitted. You must have communicated it to the National Council. You wrote me, that it had been approved of.

In virtue of that proclamation which was published through all Belgium, in French and Flemish, the administrative bodies have been changed, and the magistrates chosen by the people. Some have again named their former magistrates. This I could not hinder, being then engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, and in passing rapidly through Belgium.

I however dissolved the States in all the provinces, particularly in Brabant. In the midst of my military toils, I published an address to the people, of which many copies in French and Flemish, were sent to all the municipalities. That address of which I send you some copies, was emitted from St Trond to prepare the minds of the people, before convoking them in the primary assemblies.

I transmitted to Brussels, six days ago, a proclamation with instructions for the holding of the primary assemblies. I was not then aware of the decree, as it had been passed. But, as both proclamation and instructions were in the genuine spirit of Liberty, Equality, and the sovereignty of the

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people, I shall have no change to make upon them; but only to add to the proclamation by a circular letter, the third article of the decree, with a request to all primary assemblies to comply with it.

I intreat you to communicate this letter to the National Convention for the justification of my conduct to the representatives of the nation.

THE END.



